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W
OLD WHIG:

OR, THE
Consistent Protestant.

MYZVM
MATERN
VOL. II.

*Hoc liberiores et solutiores sumus, quod integra
nobis est judicandi potestas: nec, ut omnia,
quae praescripta, et quasi imperata sint,
defendamus, necessitate ulla cogimur.*

CIC. Acad. Quaest. lib. iv.

L O N D O N,

Printed for W. WILKINS, A. WARD, R.
HETT, A. MILLAR, and J. GRAY.

MDCXXXIX.

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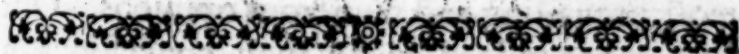
L O N D O N

Printed for W. WILKINS, A. WARD, R. HILL, A. MILLAR, and J. GRAY.

MDCCLXXIX



THE
OLD WHIG.



NUMB. XLIX.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

 S you profess, not only that general impartiality, with which every new writer bespeaks the favour of the publick ; but also, by the character you claim, a certain zeal for liberty, and the right of private judgment ; all in *consistency* with itself, and with truth of every sort ; I address myself to you, in
VOL. II. A favour

favour of a little treatise, lately published, called *The Alliance between Church and State*; that I may recommend to your readers a cool dispassionate defence of our protestant ecclesiastical constitution, at a time when several interests and oppositions have been darkening the cause.

THIS excellent performance is none of those ranting schemes of interest and zeal which claim a dangerous independency or implicit submission: On the contrary, the *Alliance* is left to be perfectly voluntary, founded on mutual advantage: It does not even make pretension to *truth*; but only to the most prevailing and numerous opinions. Our author has indeed made such concessions in favour of truth and liberty, that some may imagine they can argue from them pretty strongly against all establishments; as, that the religion establish'd may be either true or false; that religion and policy are quite distinct views; that perfect liberty should be secured to all opinions; that the magistrate has no concern with the soul; that *civil* offences and *moral* crimes are distinct considerations; that laws cannot preserve purity of opinion; that religion is necessarily independent; that a *legal* and *religious* church are two different things; that establishment rather hurts true religion; and that oppression by laws is rather a mark of truth: These, and such like, are bold concessions, and apt to mislead: But it should be remembered that

that our author is not pleading for an establishment in order to promote truth and virtue; but to advance civil interest on both sides. He proposes great benefits to church and state by this free and voluntary contract. He indeed insists upon some few great principles, such as, the belief of a Deity, difference of moral good and evil, and expectation of a future judgment, as previously necessary to every religion capable of establishment: But for the rest, the magistrate need not to inquire into the truth or falshood of them; only into the numbers and influence of those who maintain them. In short, the establishment he pleads for, is neither more nor less than a fair bargain with the majority of the people, who are willing to contract for what they can get. They are to covenant, that they will be faithful to the state, and promote its interest upon all occasions: The state covenants that they shall enjoy certain honours and revenues, and be empowered to punish certain offences against their legal rights and the publick good; not sins and immoralities, as such: And moreover, shall be intitled to a test law, to secure them against any encroachments of such as would root them out, to establish themselves and their opinions. This test-law is not intended to bring people into their persuasion, which not being necessarily the truth, might probably be injurious, but to secure their separate rights.

I believe there can hardly be framed a better and more consistent defence of an established church, nor particularly of our most excellent spiritual constitution. I dare say, this scheme will be found a sufficient security for all that is *valuable* to our clergy; and will answer all the ends of *religion* to a civil government. It is not hereby proposed to support or advance any interest of true religion, a true church, or the salvation of men: Nor is any *civil* interest intended, but the strength of the governing part, and the quiet submission of the people, each enforced by the power and riches of the clergy.

I must not, however, conceal two considerable objections that I have met with against this performance. The first is, that here is no sort of provision for the support and encouragement of true religion; but all pretensions are left to shift as they can amidst the interests and passions of society. No obligations are laid on the conscience by any of these religious laws; since they are mere policies of state, and attend equally the professors of truth or error. And thus this *religion* (as it is called) *by law establish'd*, is a mere creature of the state, neither *pagan*, *christian* nor *mahometan*, but strictly and literally the religion of the magistrate, or such ordinances as he pleases to appoint or agree to.

I think this objection may be obviated by our author's professed scheme, which is not to advance *truth* or *religion* of any sort, but the

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the interest of the government only; and therefore obedience to this establishment can be no farther a duty, than particular interest is concerned, or the manifest good of the publick can be advanced. It is indeed mere ignorance, superstition and folly, in this view, to have any religious zeal about it; or to fancy that virtue or piety is at all concerned in our behaviour on this head. However, as it is not virtue or christian religion which is thus established, so neither (as our author well observes) will virtue or true religion be in danger of corruption or destruction by the failure or overthrow of the establishment.

THE other objection is, that this reasoning, fairly attended to, will engage Governors, not only to contract with *any one* religion that will serve their purposes best, but with *all* that can any ways do them any good. And thus every church and sect that holds the main principles (which I think all do that I ever heard of) will have a right to protection at least, if not to encouragement; and may make itself worth purchasing upon some account or other. And this will render an exclusive test-law impertinent, or rather will require no test but of civil affection: And thus the argument for *religious establishments* will vanish, and subside into a general and universal toleration, or protection of all religions and opinions that admit the belief of a deity, moral differences of action, and a

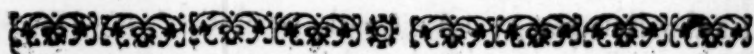
future judgment; with such immunities and maintenance of those who shall publicly teach the people *any* religion consistent with these doctrines, and useful to the society, as shall be judged proper.

THIS, indeed, will be an establishment that none can reasonably oppose, and which every honest man will be glad to support; and therefore this consideration may serve as a full answer to the objection itself: That it is only an enlargement of our author's principles, and a just consequence of all the *force* of his reasonings; and is no otherwise an objection, than as it goes a little farther than perhaps our author saw, or chose to carry his argument; and is only an improvement of his scheme for the publick good, and a more universal benefit. I am,

S I R,

Your humble Servant,

ATTICUS.



N U M B. LX.

I Am sensible, that what I am about to advance will be liable to the imputation of *novelty*, and that I myself may have the hard fate to be misrepresented and abused as

a visionary chymical *projector* : but wise men are above being intimidated by undeserved names of reproach, and men of a steady honesty despise them. I am resolved, therefore, to support myself under all such rash and unjust censures, by the consciousness of my own integrity, and laudable design to serve the public, and *open the eyes* of my countrymen and fellow-*protestants* ; and have, moreover, this singular comfort, that the scheme which I have so laboriously framed and digested, and am now going to lay before the World, must easily recommend itself to all *staunch* and *thorough-paced* politicians, and to the reverend body of the *clergy* ; since 'tis entirely calculated to advance their power and influence, and serve the darling cause of passive obedience, and a blind implicit submission. Besides, as mankind are, in some cases, as passionately fond of *novelty*, as they are apt to decry it in others, an author may very modestly expect, that this instance of their *caprice* will *for once* be on the right side ; and if it should take this happy turn, that, which in a general estimate is the most probable means of his *disgrace*, will be the basis of his greater *fame* and usefulness.

I thought proper to say something by way of preface to obviate this most formidable objection, that the prejudices of my readers might be a little softened, and their minds disposed for a favourable reception of what

I have farther to offer ; which, with the grounds and reasons of it, take as follows.

THE licentiousness of the present age, especially with respect to its *opinions*, has been the subject of loud and most pathetic complaints; and many methods have been taken, if possible, utterly to eradicate, or at least to put a stop to the growth of, this evil. But as they have all been hitherto found, by experience, to be but *quack remedies*, I presume I may be allowed humbly to propose a *nostrum*, which I am confident must answer the end in view; and that is, *that the exercise of thinking and reasoning be entirely abolished*: which, tho' it may have somewhat of a *ludicrous* aspect at first, deserves the serious consideration of all who are friends to religion, and well-wishers to the peace and prosperity of their native country, for the following most weighty and cogent reasons.

1st. THAT there can be, in the nature of things, no other *sure* and *infallible* prevention of infidelity and heresy, and that variety of strange and unwarranted opinions, which derogate from the *authority* of the church, and destroy the unity of its faith and *order*. If we admit of, and encourage thinking in *any degree*, this grievance may still continue, notwithstanding our most passionate exclamations against it: For *half-thinkers* may be infidels; *half-thinkers* are the only likely persons to entertain mon-

strously

stroufly absurd, and extravagant opinions ; but 'tis as demonstrable as any proposition in *Euclid*, nay, 'tis as self-evident as the first principles of any science whatsoever, that if there was absolutely *no thinking at all*, there could be no such thing as *free thinking*.—The creed of St. *Athanasius*, which so much offends the pride of human reason, would *then* be swallowed as glibly, and with as little reluctance, as the gospel itself ; and all the other *creeds*, which the church has determined to adopt, would be screen'd both from present and future attacks, and transmitted from one *indolent* and *unthinking* generation to another.

ALL, therefore, who are duly sensible of the eminent advantages resulting from this scheme, must applaud, and celebrate with high encomiums, the *prudence* and *skill* of those warm and zealous members of the christian *priesthood* in every age, who have carefully avoided the trouble and danger of thinking *themselves*, and discouraged it to the utmost in their *votaries*. Nothing can be more natural, or more *discreet*, than for a *Roman-catholic* priest to preach up the necessity of sacrificing reason, *blind, carnal, licentious* reason to faith, and the decrees and canons of the church. And that great *protestant* disputant and champion Dr. *Wat——d*, has given us a choice specimen of his *wisdom*, and of a genius that penetrates far into the consequences of things,
in

in building his defence of the trinity on this principle, — that *the RATIONALE of the thing is a foreign consideration*. I look upon myself as bound in gratitude to acknowledge, that this is going a great way towards what I am now asserting and pleading for; but as the *rationale* of the thing will have some weight in all controversies, till men are entirely brought off from the *impertinent* custom of thinking, and the *insolence* of claiming a private conscience, I shall not despair of seeing the ingenious doctor declare himself more *explicitly* and *fully* on my side of the question, and support the common cause in which we are embarked, by all his subtilty and wonderful skill in *metaphysicks*.* —

BUT leaving *religious* topics, I proceed to confirm the point by *political* reasons, drawn from the good of society. And here I shall build the whole of my argument up-

* If any *mean* and *malignant* spirits, envying the honour which they imagine I may gain by having first proposed this singular expedient for the advancement of *religion*, should cavil, and say; that, indeed, the absolute disuse of thinking is an infallible means to prevent wrong thinking, but that it will as certainly and effectually obstruct right thinking, and destroy all faith and notion of religion: To this *trifling* objection I shall think it sufficient to answer, that if this expedient does not promote real faith, and an inward sense of piety, it will secure a *unity of outward profession*; which seems, even in the judgment of those who have the supreme direction and influence both in temporal and spiritual affairs, to be all that is necessary for the peace and grandeur of the *church*, and the security of *civil government*.

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on *facts*, and observations drawn from the *original* frame of human nature. That man is, in reality, a very *mischievous* animal, especially to his own species, is past dispute: And 'tis as undeniable, that nature intended him to be *innocent* and *inoffensive*; having neither endued him with *strength* equal to that of many other creatures, nor provided him with *fangs* and *claws*, wherewith to tear and destroy. But *thought* and *contrivance* have quite altered and disturbed the harmless and peaceable state of nature, and supplied him with fatal instruments of death and torture, beyond those which the most *fierce* and *ravenous* animals are possessed of.

AGAIN, to what is it that all those wretched arts of imposition and deceit, with which the world so much abounds, owe their rise? unquestionably to nothing else but to the dangerous practice of *thinking*. If the exercise of this *pestilent faculty* was wholly laid aside, man would be, as the poet says of the ox, *animal honestum*, a plain honest simple creature, without guile or dissimulation. And to confirm this observation, 'tis universally agreed, that that species of brutes, which seem to *mimick* the *sagacity* of the lower part of the human kind, are the fullest of *tricks*, and subtle mischief. I shall only add, that 'tis evident to a demonstration, that without the help of *thinking* the late fatal *South-Sea* scheme, which was so destructive to trade
and

and commerce, and distressed so many worthy families, could never have been projected; tho' it must be owned, on the other hand, that those who suffered by it, and amused themselves with such improbable and romantic prospects, gave but little proof of *their* reflection; which circumstance I the rather choose to mention, as it shews my *disinterestedness* and *ingenuous* temper, and that I am not desirous that any part of my argument should have more weight with the reader, than it *strictly* and *justly* deserves.

BUT I have reserved to the last my greatest strength, and the chief *political* reason why *thinking* should be totally suppressed; and it is this, that it greatly injures and impairs the *health* of his Majesty's good subjects. It can scarce be affirm'd of *Geneva* itself, that it more *enfeebles* and *emaciates*, or has more *mortal* qualities, than intense study and contemplation; which may be aptly stiled a *slow poison*, that gradually exhausts and destroys the most *robust* and *vigorous* constitution.

IF it be said, that this is all mere flourish and declamation, and has no solidity or substance in it, because the bulk of mankind are not so fond of *thinking*, as to be in any danger of *hurting* themselves by it; I answer, that 'tis happy for us, indeed, that this is not, at present, an *epidemical* vice: But who knows what vicissitudes, what *strange turus* may happen in the manners
and

and customs of the world? Suppose that our *great men*, tired with the common insipid round of vanity, should take it into their heads, if it were only for *variety's* sake, to become studious and contemplative; the influence which such an alteration might have upon all ranks and orders, who *ridiculously* copy after the *fashions*, and aspire to the *taste* of their superiors, is, surely, extremely to be dreaded. All wise states have endeavoured to guard, as far as human precaution could extend, against the most remote consequences, that might be of considerable detriment to the community. Now there is no way of guarding effectually against those pernicious ones which I have mentioned, but by abolishing altogether the use of *thinking*.

THERE is, indeed, one objection more against this scheme, which may be thought to be of some importance; namely, that an eminent profession, that of *physic*, will be discouraged and injured by it. Now to this it may be replied; 1st, That 'tis an invariable rule in reason, and *true politics*, that 'tis much better *one part* of the community, how deserving and useful soever, should suffer some damage, than that such dismal inconveniencies, as have been above recited, should accrue to the *whole*. And I make no doubt, but that the gentlemen of this learned and liberal profession are so generous, and such true lovers of their country,

as

as readily to sacrifice their *private interest* to the *publick welfare*. But after all, secondly, the *hurt* is not so great as may be imagin'd: For tho' the emoluments of the faculty may be *retrenched* a little, if my project should happen to be approved of; there will still be large scope both for *honourable* and *gainful* practice, till, together with the use of *thinking*, the *passions* likewise are *abolish'd*; for which I have, as yet, no scheme to present to the world.

THUS have I, by my *manner of reasoning*, done all that was in my power, to ingratiate myself with *politicians* and with the *priesthood*. To the *gay* and *polite*, whose *practice* is already on my side, I need only urge the *fatigue* of thinking, and the *dull interruption* it will give to their pleasures. —Enough therefore, I presume, has been said upon the whole, to engage all the three to act in *concert*, and unite their strength and interest, in supporting this *new* proposal for the advancement of *trade*, and the peace and prosperity of the *church* and *state*.



N U M B. LXI.

Ut malè posuimus initia, sic cætera sequuntur.
CIC.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,
YOUR ingenious correspondent, ATTICUS, having given the world a just abstract of the principles contain'd in a late treatise, intitled *the Alliance between Church and State*; I beg leave, by way of supplement to his letter, to add some illustrations and remarks on that performance, which his design did not lead him to make, that the *true excellency* and *merit* of it may be impartially and fully display'd.

As I am a lover of my country, and in consequence a hearty well-wisher to our constitution, and to the cause of vertue, religion, and liberty; I am concerned to hear it said, and the more so as there is too much ground for the reproach, that our ecclesiastical establishment has been less dishonoured and weakned by the most *malicious* and *subtle attacks* of its *professed* enemies, than by the *lame and inconsistent defences* of its most able and zealous champions; who have
en-

endeavour'd to support it either by such *ill chosen* topics of reasoning, as will equally justify the *worst public superstitions* that were ever *allied* and incorporated with the state; or on principles that conclude strongly against *all establishments*; or on idle visionary schemes, fit only for a *Utopian* common-wealth. And the author of the *Alliance* himself joins in making this complaint; and seems to think, that he only has found out the *true expedient* for convincing the rational part of mankind of the *necessity* and *equity* of our ecclesiastical constitution, and that almost all former vindications of it have been either *Hobbian* or *Romantick*.

— BUT what if his own scheme should appear likewise, upon an unprejudic'd examination of it, to be attended with insuperable difficulties? — What if it be shewn, that the fundamental principles on which he builds his whole fabric, are repugnant and *self-contradictory*? — That, besides one or two *chimerical* conceits, and darkening the subject by a sett of new and *stiff* phrases, he has very little to boast of; all his reasonings, when fairly explain'd, and rendered *consistent* and *intelligible*, terminating in the very same point with those which he has censured and rejected, and running in the *old* channel?—And that there needs nothing more than *his own arguments*, urged in *his own words*, to demolish all establish'd religions, and prove *the alliance* which he pleads for,
be-

between church and state, to be absolutely absurd and unwarrantable? — If this be the case, I make no doubt but that all indifferent and disinterested persons will readily agree that the controversy is at an end, and that a more particular answer is quite unnecessary to a scheme that *destroys itself*. Let us see, therefore, how the argument stands; and whether what has been given be not a fair and just account of it.

THE grand principle upon which our author proceeds, and which he requests his reader to have always in his mind, is this, *that the true end for which religion is establish'd is, not to provide for the TRUE FAITH, but for CIVIL UTILITY.* †

THIS, he says, is *the key to open to us the whole mystery of this controversy; and the clew to lead us safe thro' all the intricacies, windings, and perplexities, in which it has been involved.** And whereas the defenders of an established religion have all along gone on to maintain it on motives of TRUTH, and not of UTILITY; that is, *that religion was to be establish'd and protected AS IT WAS THE TRUE RELIGION, not for the sake of its CIVIL UTILITY;* he stiles this an *error* and a *mistaken principle.* ‡ And yet the same *error* and *mistaken principle*, which so embarrasses and con-

† p. 154 * *ibid.* ‡ p. 148.

found the subject, has this author himself espoused, if his words were intended to convey any meaning, when he asserts; that one *motive the state had to seek an alliance* with the church was, *to preserve the essence and purity of religion.*† — To seek an alliance with the church, and to design and attempt an establishment of religion, are, I presume, phrases of the same import; and the *motive* to seek this alliance can, in this place, signify nothing more or less, than the *end* proposed by it; from whence it undeniably follows, if the motive here suggested be reasonable and just, that one *true end*, for which religion is establish'd, is *the preserving its essence and purity*: But how does this differ from *providing for the true faith*, which, this writer tells us, is *not* the *true end* for which religion is establish'd? — Can the *essence* of religion be preserved without *faith*, or without *true faith*? Can it be intended to maintain, by an establishment, the *essence* and *purity* of religion, without intending to establish the *true religion only*? Or is it possible, in the nature of the thing, that there should be a design to establish the *true religion only*, without designing to maintain and protect it on *motives of truth*, or *as it is the true religion*? These are inconsistencies not to be reconciled; and instead of affording *a key to open the mystery of the whole con-*

† P. 55.

troverſy, ſeem to ſhut it up in thicker and more impenetrable darkneſs.

BUT we need not preſs the author of the *Alliance* too cloſely with this charge of *ſelf-contradiſtion*, becauſe the ſame conſequences will follow from his own general principles, and the neceſſary reaſon of the thing. Let us allow then, *that ſociety, by its own proper force, cannot provide for the obſervance of above one third part of moral duties, and of that third but imperfectly*; let it be allowed, likewise, that *to ſupply this defect in civil laws, there muſt be added ſome other coactive power that has its influence upon the mind of man*; let it be allowed farther, that *there is no other that has this influence, than the power of religion*: granting all this, I ſay, what will it prove? If it proves *any thing*, it can be no more than this, that the *true* religion ONLY ought to be eſtabliſh'd: for 'tis this *alone* that can influence the mind in ſuch a manner, as to be ſubſervient to moral duties and the good of ſociety; whereas ſuperſtition and falſe religion have been found, by univerſal experience, to be the greateſt corrupters of human nature, and ſubverſive of the ſocial virtues. As therefore the *truth* and goodneſs of a religion, and the *civil utility* reſulting from an eſtabliſhment of it, always *coincide*, and can't be ſeparated in ſtrict and ſolid reaſoning; and as the author I am examining ſeems to allow this, and the foundation of

his own argument necessarily supposes it; the matter, upon the whole, is brought to this issue: that the *ultimate end* why religion is established, is the *publick utility*; but the publick utility cannot be promoted by any, besides the *true religion*; and therefore the *subordinate end* aimed at by an establishment is, and must be, the preservation and support of *true religion as such*. Or, the sum of the argument may be thus stated: the *true end* why *any religion at all* is established, is *civil utility*; but the *true end* why a *particular scheme* of religion is established is, or ought to be, because it is *the true religion*, and *only* because it is the *true religion*; since that *alone* can give it a preference to others, as a means more conducive to the publick good. Now this which is the *sole reason* why any particular religion can, in *right*, be established, the author of the *Alliance* utterly disclaims; and according to our method of reasoning, strange consequences must follow from admitting *that*, without which, as has been shewn, we can admit of *no establishment* at all. As

Ist, 'THAT an establishment is *unjust*,
 ' because the civil magistrate hath *no right*
 ' to judge, as a magistrate, which is the *true*
 ' religion; this power not being given him
 ' on man's entering into society: Nor could
 ' it be given him, because man cannot em-
 ' power another to judge for him in matters
 ' of religion. — An establishment is also *un-*
just,

‘ *just*, because was the magistrate a competent judge of which was the *true* religion, he would yet have no right to reward its followers, or discourage its opposers; because matters of opinion belong not to his jurisdiction. — This hypothesis takes away *the clergy’s right to a publick maintenance*. Which now being for the support of *opinions*, would be contrary to the fundamental laws of society: as making those contribute to that maintenance who reject such opinions, and think them false.

(2.) ‘ An establishment is *absurd*. It being impossible that the end thereof should be attained. This end is the protection and support of *true religion*. But the civil magistrate, who is to establish it, being sole judge what is so, and necessarily concluding his own to be it, the established religion *must*, all the world over, be the the magistrate’s. That is, for one place where the *true* religion is established, there will be a thousand where the *false* is. And whether this be for the interest of *true religion*, let the maintainers of this hypothesis consider.* ”

HAVING shewn how this writer has argued against the general point he had in view, and if his reasoning here holds good destroy’d the ground of *all establishments*; I shall conclude with two instances which he

* p. 150, 151.

hath given, of the *publick utility*, that springs from an establish'd religion. The one is, that 'by conferring on the magistrate 'the *application* of the *efficacy* of religion, 'and putting the *church* under his *direction*, he has in himself authority to prescribe such *publick exercises* of religion, '(as *days of humiliation, fasts, festivals, exhortations, and debortations, thansgivings and deprecations, &c.*) and in *such a manner* as, he finds, the *exigencies* of state require: the other; that the *endowment* of the clergy will destroy that *mutual dependency* between *them* and the *people*, which arises from the former's being maintain'd by the voluntary contribution of the latter; which *dependence* is productive of the greatest mischiefs to *the state*.'—The substance of which, when expressed in a more undisguis'd and artless stile, amounts to this—that some of the most eminent advantages, arising from a close *alliance between the church and state*, are these; the making *religion* a *convenient engine* for ambitious and intriguing *politicians* to work by; and the clergy the *tools* of *power*, and a *separate interest* from the *community*.—A strain of sentiments and language, exactly calculated for *despotic* and *arbitrary* governments, but absolutely inconsistent with the genius and spirit of *liberty*.—I shall therefore, as the result of all, make no scruple to pronounce with respect to

N^o 52. *The OLD WHIG.* 23

to this writer, and every other advocate for a religious establishment that I have yet met with, that whatever church they may claim the honour to be related to as their *mother*, HOBBS is *the father of them all*.

I am, *S I R,*

Your humble Servant.



N U M B. LII.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

I Must beg the favour of you to insert in your paper one more letter of my friend's, as naturally belonging to those which you have already been so good as to admit; and which I hope may serve a little the cause of *liberty*, in which you are engaged. I am, *S I R,*

Your humble Servant,

P. Q.

A Third Letter to a Friend in the Country.

Dear S I R,

I KNOW you will expect that I should not be silent upon the experienced event of our late political speculation. Application has been made for the *repeal* of the test-

B 4

act,

act, and it has met its fate; how deservedly, let all reasonable men judge. You know the numbers and the characters of those singular friends to mere *truth* and *liberty*, who dared to appear in behalf of this repeal. There has not often been so fair a trial of honour and integrity in a popular assembly; where *all* the *reason* and *right* were so plainly seen and felt to be on one side, and such mere prejudice and interest on the other. I dare say, you will do me the justice to allow, that my judgment and expectations of the persons and principles that would appear in this cause were well founded; and that the numbers and weight of our friends were as great as we hoped for. Give me leave now, by way of contrast, to draw up the prejudices and interests in the opposition: such as in speculation were to have been expected, and such as in fact appeared. This will make the repulse look more accountable, tho' utterly irrational; and the appearance of the glorious friends of truth and liberty more considerable and amiable.

IN the first rank of opposition are to be reckoned all real *Jacobites*, and hearty enemies to our present happy establishment. These must needs have an ill will to true liberty, and to every affectionate friend of the present government. The natural and just right of society, as well as the ease and favour of the best subjects of a free constitution,

tution, will naturally be trampled upon and opposed by this sort of men. Let them act their part, and appear in every slavish and unjust design; it is all consistent and natural. But let honest and free men beware of them, and seek out every proper defence.

THE next sort of enemies are *bigots* and worldly *hypocrites*. I will not call them *churchmen*; they deserve not the name. Little sticklers for a *legal* faith and practice; or rather for the glories and incomes of a religious establishment: whose holy zeal is fixed to a political society; and whose heavenly affections are set upon the pomp of power and the gain of godliness. These people do well to watch the interests and emoluments of their DIANA: for they may be sure every honest man and every friend to true religion is against them; how little soever they may be apprehensive of their numbers and force. These are the men whose principles (if ignorance and covetousness may be so called) must ever stand in the way of truth and liberty, reason and right. Where their influence prevails, honesty must hide its head; and every civil and religious interest must submit to their lust of power and insatiable avarice.

ANOTHER and very considerable set of people in the opposition, are your *true politicians* of several sorts. I mean those, who plainly see and know the attempt to be right and just in itself; and yet oppose it,

it, as hurtful to the publick peace, or the measures of the administration; or as ill-timed and out of season. These politicians should however in justice be distinguished into two sorts: those who, from principles of benevolence and humanity, really design the publick welfare and happiness, tho' in a mistaken way of opposition to truth and reason; and those who mean only the support of themselves and their own measures, both against justice and the real good of society, in contempt of right, and to please and secure a selfish party, who are never contented, and who subsist on the properties and liberties of their fellow-subjects. The first should have all the allowance of *ignorance* and *good-nature*, who *kindly* intend the general happiness, in spite of truth, right and justice: the latter should be regarded as a faithless crew, who would serve any interest *with* themselves, and sacrifice not only their own consciences, but the common rights of men, to their own security, and the insolent demand of an unrighteous tribe, who prevail on their vain hopes and slavish fears.

To these must be added a very large body of men in all societies, who are *utterly ignorant* of truth and right, and *quite unconcerned* about the liberty and happiness of any. These one must always expect to be carried away by the least self-interest, or even fashion of a majority: they are a sort of
insects

insects that *live* in the sun-shine of power, extremely sensible and irrational; and being very minute, are attracted by a very small influence. But then, tho' they are of little or no weight in the moral or philosophical balance; they are, however, a fruitful generation, and creep by numbers into all assemblies; and there every animal of them insists upon its individuality, and swells a majority insensibly.

THERE are also at all popular meetings some, and perhaps a number, who are *conscious* of *truth* and *right*, and whose characters depend upon preserving, at least, the appearance of that consciousness; and yet their *interests* and *attachments* are so great and strong on the other side, that they dare not pursue their real sentiments. These one may expect, through corruption, to stand neuter, having an interest strong on each side; though they really are due to the side of reason and justice. They are indeed most unhappy wretches, who deserve neither the reward of virtue, nor the wages of unrighteousness; but are equally condemned to the forfeiture both of honour and profit.

AND now, Sir, give me leave to ask you, if all these ranks and orders of men will not more than account with you for the *numerous* majority that appeared against the repeal? Nay, will not the few that bravely owned the cause of truth and liberty seem to be a great and significant number, all
circum-

circumstances considered? I believe, if you reflect a little upon the cause itself, the motives that urged the attempt, the interests and views that opposed it, and the characters and reasonings of those that espoused it; you will hardly remember a greater publick instance of zeal and resolution in the mere cause of reason and truth; and you will think that the friends of liberty have met with more than ordinary success; and have given such an open evidence of their integrity and such a weight to the interest of liberty, as will not easily be forgot by honest men, nor forgiven by bigots and false politicians; much greater than if they had *carried* so slight a point by the confused and mixed influence of a ministry and a court.

FOR pray consider, the cause was a bare matter of reason and right, unattended with any profitable interests. The *Dissenters* had little or nothing to gain; insomuch, that I can assure you of a most extraordinary fact: the very *Dissenters*, as they are called, of a great town in the interest of a great man, were cool and backward in the attempt, lest (would you believe it) the *Quakers* themselves, who I suppose are not so thoroughly directed, should share in the common right and relief. So absurdly will prejudice and selfishness work, and even pretend to reason! There seems, indeed, to have been some advantage to the present government proposed, by strengthening its friends;
but

but this was given up by the ministers of it, and turned into opposition: the love of truth only moved, or rather forced the attempt; for all were persuaded or threatned to desist; and even the best and most faithful asserters of the cause had such low hopes, that they were unwilling to begin, however zealous and strong when once engaged. The views of the opposition you have fully seen. The characters and reasonings of our friends did, indeed, great honour to the cause. Their rank, independency, integrity and honourable designs; their impartial regard to truth and right, where they could not be concerned in interest; the arguments they used, drawn only from reason, common justice and publick good; unanswered and unopposed for want even of the shadow of truth and force; greatly support the cause of liberty: and especially when compared with the *weighty* and *cunning* reasonings of our enemies, founded upon the pretended necessities of government; the danger of offending a very potent *christian* adversary by a just and equal distribution of common rights; the inconvenience of unsettling so *perfect* a scheme of liberty as must needs have been *immediately* recovered from a state of tyranny and slavery; (much like the purity of a reformation just come forth out of the darkest ignorance and superstition;) the reasonable equivalent of a promissory assurance that no other rights and liberties

erties shall be interrupted, for a refusal of common justice and equity; just as much to be depended upon as the unnatural promises of an actual sinner to become wonderfully righteous upon another occasion. These excellent principles, mixed up with some artful subtilty, and some false professions, some blundering passion, and some spiteful zeal, are the strength of the opposition.

WHAT return, now, should the lovers of liberty, *Old Whigs* and *Consistent Protestants*, make to these their fast friends, worthy patrons, and defenders, who might easily have done them justice by the least countenance? Why truly they have great reason to thank them for their *open* declarations and undisguised professions; to depend upon them so far only as it is their interest to serve them; to unite in the glorious cause of liberty, that they may, one time or other, make them feel their real weight, and the need of their assistance to support a free government. In the mean while, let them glory and rejoice in the present success of so honest an effort of virtue, and in the honourable defence of so many able and hearty friends of true liberty; and particularly in the zeal and patronage of that truly honourable and experienced *ADVOCATE*, whose unbiassed judgment and tried integrity would have given the greatest weight to any cause that he had approved; but in such a one as this, where the contention was only between
truth

truth and *interest*, can be reckoned no less than absolute victory.

THE proof of virtue is in faithful endeavours to promote truth and liberty; and the success of it upon earth consists, not in the general prevalence of reason and truth, which is not to be expected; but in its appearing with such native beauty and irresistible force, as may encourage and support integrity, and utterly discountenance and condemn falshood and vice under every pretence and disguise. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your sincerely,

March 20,

A. Z.

1735-6.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

I WAS lately in company with several gentlemen who took upon them to be desperately witty on the poor *Quakers*, on account of their late defeat respecting the tythe-bill; and as they were persons whose *reverend* appearance ought to command that regard which their behaviour bespoke them not quite unworthy of, I would (on their behalf) beg of you to give them this publick admonition, not to act too far out of their

their own characters, nor to make too free with the characters of others. For however idle and scrupulous they may pretend to make the *Quakers* opinions appear, they want not men amongst them of abilities sufficient to offer very considerable things in their vindication: though perhaps not to the satisfaction of those men whose interest 'tis to be blind themselves, that they may with the less remorse and reflection deceive, and spread an universal darkness over the judgments of mankind.

AND further; that let things appear ever so insignificant and trifling in the opinions of private men, the notice and examination of a *british* parliament lifts them above the ridicule of hasty and ill-judg'd reflections, and renders any attempt to subject them to it, far beneath the dignity of good sense and good breeding.

THE *Quakers* are men of like passions, and are alike subject to prejudices, as other men, and other societies. And though I will not here pretend to determine how far they were right in the case before us, yet this I'll make bold to assert, and dare say I speak their sentiments, that however reasonable an attempt of this kind might appear to them, they very willingly resolve all their own determinations into the wisdom of a government whom they believe to be their friends. A circumspection worthy of the imitation of a certain set of men amongst
us,

us, whose conduct, respecting the government, is so very analagous to the most literal construction of the character the devil gave of *Job*, *put forth thine hand, and touch what he hath, and he'll curse thee to thy face.*

I am,

SIR,

Your humble Servant,

A Lover of Mankind.



N U M B. LIII.

— *Qua tu mercede deorum
Emeris auriculas? Pulmone et lactibus
unctis!*

— *Damus id superis de magna quod dare
lance*

*Non possit magni Messalæ lippa propago?
Compositum—jus fasque animo, sanctosque
recessus*

*Mentis, et incoctum generoso pectus honesto.
Hæc cedo ut admoveam templis, et farre
litabo.*

Perf. Sat. 2.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

IT is an observation of Mr. *Locke's*, that there are those who take so little care to lay by words which in their primary notation

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have

have scarce any clear and distinct ideas that they are annexed to, that by an unpardonable negligence they familiarly use words, which the propriety of language has fixed to very important ideas, without any meaning at all; or I add, with a meaning very foreign to their just acceptation. Nothing has introduced greater confusion than such a wretched abuse and perversion of words. Thus of late **REPUBLICAN** has become a fashionable term of reproach, for those who distinguish themselves from the vulgar herd by an honest attachment to the civil and religious rights of mankind; as the hard names of *infidel* and *deist* have been oft toss'd about, to discourage free and impartial searches into truth. A sacred regard for liberty and king **GEORGE**, for the honour of christianity and dignity of its institutions, has been represented as little better than turbulency and faction. But few will be affected with such low and impotent scandal. There are some other corruptions of the same nature, and which are of much more dangerous importance, which, as a friend to *consistent protestantism*, I would willingly contribute my endeavours towards removing: I mean—the abuse of the words **CHURCH** and **RELIGION**.

RELIGION in itself is the best, and best-natur'd thing in the world: But so oft has it been wrapp'd up in mystery, or dressed in foppish, arbitrary, or tyrannical colours, that we may challenge mankind, to paint
destruction

destruction in blacker. It has been so mangled, and its beautiful features so cruelly distorted, as to lessen both the zeal and number of its admirers. Virtue has been placed, not in an easy genteel rectitude of manners, but in cynical pride, and a little awkward pedantry of behaviour: and 'tis a question, whether the mischiefs christianity has been made the occasion of, are not equal to the advantages that have resulted from it to mankind.

THE justice and propriety of these reflections will be abundantly confirmed, if we look into history, and reflect on the *Saint Errantry*, that cruel, malignant, and pestilent spirit, which has successfully reigned and triumphed amongst ecclesiastics in all ages. In popish countries, the laity still wear and worship their chains: vestments and gesticulations, devout puppet-shews, and sanctify'd foibles or fooleries, have arrogated the sacred character; which can be justly appropriated to nothing else but universal benevolence and goodness.—The principles of liberty are better understood in this nation, and which must give every *Old Whig* a generous pleasure, have been better understood, and more consistently explain'd in this age, than any of the ages that went before it. But yet, is there not room to suspect that the mother of abominations has many of her illegitimate offspring that still haunt this protestant country? To this it must

must be owing, that a blind idolatry in favour of popular systems, an implicit reverence and slavish adoration of great names, have often pass'd as equivalents for the want of love to truth and the practice of righteousness. Doth it not daily appear that this servile stupidity is the great barrier of orthodoxy and religious scandal? Hence it is, that to give rational representations of christianity, has been look'd upon by a set of men as an instance of a perverse reprobate mind; whilst mobbing for the church, or lying for the truth, have been the distinguishing tokens of ecclesiastical grace.—Hence—that consecrated trumpery and jargon, such as — mysteries, — carnal reason, — divine right, — uninterrupted succession,— have been called the great truths of morality and revealed religion; — and the caprice of bigots, and the whims of enthusiasts, have passed for the messages of the Lord.—Thus the empyric on the stage, who knows no more of distempers than of the philosopher's stone, yet decries all regular practice, and by the help of a few boxes of pills, papers of powders, and a well-chosen collection of crabbed unintelligible words, commences infallible doctor.

As a *consistent protestant*, I am persuaded you reject all degrees of bigotry and superstition. — To you then, I make my appeal, whether these mistakes about religion be not highly injurious to its character and credit, and such as deserve to be every where spoken

spoken against? When men would thus stamp divinity upon their own superstitious dreams, can it be thought they are doing service to a good cause by such awkward management? When they daub with such vile paint, must they not spoil a beautiful complexion? When they are weak enough to bewail the progress of reason and common sense, and lament the growing infidelity and unbelief of old wives fables; when they would proselyte our understandings into ignorance, and a slavish submission to their dictates and authority; is it strange if they are held in just contempt and derision? Slavish submission, I said; for surely, tho' my body be chain'd up with strong fetters of iron, yet am I not more accomplish'd a slave, than he who wears intellectual shackles, and has his understanding chain'd up with unscriptural systems!

It must be own'd there are some persons who pronounce all those infidels that cannot see an *absolute necessity* of foisting in a supplemental christianity to our bibles. Upon this footing, if I mistake not, such loud clamours and virulent outcries have been made against the writings (and particularly a late excellent performance) of one of the greatest and best men that ever adorn'd the mitre. How to describe the conduct of those in the opposition, I can't tell; unless they be considered as a race of ecclesiastical morrice-dancers, that by their ludicrous pageantries,

hire gain and gazing, and by their fantastical dress of things, damn themselves, I can't say with the poet—to everlasting fame,—but to be the amusement of coffee houses, and the publick jest of the town; and after all, have no more to urge for themselves, than the good old gentleman whose organs of hearing were so far impair'd, that he could not apprehend any articulate sounds at a distance, yet, in his *consciencious* attendance on publick worship, would not be persuaded to fix himself where he could understand the instructions of the preacher, because, as he said, he could be no where edify'd but in his family-seat; and it would be dangerous apostacy, for any reason whatsoever, to desert that place which his father, grandfather, and great grand father sat in before him. I am,

S I R

Your humble Servant,

L A I C U S.

N U M B.



N U M B. LIV.

— *Quærenda pecunia primum est,
Virtus post nummos. Hæc Janus summus
ab imo*
*Perdocet : Hæc recinunt juvenes dictata
senesque.* H O R.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

A Very extraordinary piece having lately fallen into my hands, I have thought proper to send it you with some remarks on it, that you may publish it for the common good, if you think the publication of it will be of any real service to that cause of liberty you are engaged in the defence of, and in which all good men heartily wish you success. It is said to be a *letter* of a certain *right reverend* to the *good brethren* of his diocese. Whether it be or not, I do not pretend to affirm. However, 'tis handed about with a very reverend name to it, and you have it intire as it came to my hands.

My good Brethren,

“ THE *Quakers* having obtained leave
“ in the House of Commons, to bring in a
C 4 “ bill

“ bill for having all suits for tythes, under
 “ the value of ten pounds, tried and finally
 “ determined by the justices of the peace,
 “ in the county or liberty where the de-
 “ mand arises, without farther resort or ap-
 “ peal to any other court, ecclesiastical or
 “ temporal, for relief or redress, even in
 “ cases of mistake in proceeding, or error in
 “ judgment, to which the best of judges are
 “ subject, especially in the summary pro-
 “ ceedings, such as by this bill are proposed
 “ to be had in those cases; it is judged pro-
 “ per to have you apprised, that should a
 “ bill for such indulgences to this people
 “ pass into a law, it would, as it is appre-
 “ hended, be a stronger argument in favour
 “ of their fanaticism, than any by their ad-
 “ vocates yet produced. For evident it is,
 “ that so far as this bill tends to *unsettle*
 “ *the provisions* made by our laws for the
 “ ministry and maintenance of Christ’s true
 “ religion, taught in this church, and esta-
 “ blished in this state, so far will it be un-
 “ derstood as an *establishment of their fa-*
 “ *neticism*, and an invitation to men, un-
 “ fixed in religion, to profess themselves of
 “ this persuasion, for the sake of the privi-
 “ leges hereby annexed to it. As therefore
 “ it must well become the body of the cler-
 “ gy zealously to withstand *an attempt so*
 “ *injurious to their religion* and properties;
 “ and as the clergy from other parts are ma-
 “ king application to their friends in parlia-
 “ ment

" ment for their assistance on this occasion;
 " it is thought adviseable that you should,
 " under notice thereof, be moved to join in
 " the common defence, by writing without
 " loss of time, to all your acquaintance in
 " parliament, especially to your own repre-
 " sentatives, humbly and earnestly suppli-
 " cating their favourable consideration and
 " effectual protection of your establishment,
 " now manifestly endangered by this bold
 " and open attack. So praying God to have
 " you in his good keeping, I remain

March 13, Your loving Friend.

1735-6.

ONE would really imagine by this letter, that the *Quakers* had attempted, and that the House of Commons had favoured them in the attempt of, somewhat *subversive* of the *very constitution* of this kingdom; that nothing less than *utter destruction* of the established religion was intended by them; and that we were going to exchange our *organs* and publick prayers for *silent meetings*, and our *surplices* and gowns for the *starch* and *primness* of Quakerish fanaticism. The plain intention of it is to spread the panick amongst the clergy, sound amongst them the alarm of the *endangered church, injured religion, and invaded properties*, and to excite them, with united forces, to oppose a *bold and open attack*, that threatned the downfal and ruin of the establishment.

AND

AND yet what is it that is the foundation of all this clamour? What the mighty occasion of this *spreading jealousy*, uneasiness, the spirit of discontent, and the seed of sedition amongst the *reverend order*, and by them amongst all the *parishes* of the kingdom? Why, the *Quakers* obtained leave in the House of Commons to bring in a bill, *for having all suits for tythes under the value of ten pounds tried and finally determined by the justices of the peace, without farther resort or appeal.*

THEY did *not desire*, that tythes, tho' they think them unlawful, *should be abolished* as wicked and antichristian things. Such an *ungodly* attempt might, with more shew of justice, have excited the *pious zeal* of our spiritual pastors, and been exclaimed against as a bold and open attack upon the establishment and religion. For who doth not see the *necessary* and unalterable link and *connection* between tythes and priesthood, priesthood and christianity, christianity and the establishment?

THEIR attempt was quite of another nature. They had been long exposed to *vexatious prosecutions*; they had been many of them *imprisoned*, and some of them had *died* in jail, through an holy fervour for *tythe-pigs* and Easter-offerings. They looked upon this as a grievance and intolerable burthen, and with *great modesty* and humility, of which they are examples worthy

thy of the imitation of many who pretend to teach these virtues, sought relief from whom alone they could expect it ; not from the christian moderation and justice of the clergy, but from the equity and honour of the *british* parliament.

THE application to parliament for the redress of grievances, is the privilege of every *british* subject ; and if there are any *laws* in being, found by experience to be *injurious* and oppressive, those that suffer under them have a *right* to complain, and seek redress from the legislature. And I should imagine it would much more become the character of those who pretend to be his *ambassadors*, who is *the prince of peace, and rules in righteousness*, rather to *give up* any lesser rights and petty advantages, for the preventing grievous and unrighteous exactions, than *meanly* and falsely to represent a peaceable and humble endeavour to remove them, as an attempt injurious to religion and endangering the establishment.

WHAT notion must such men have of *religion*, that can propagate such doctrine as this amongst the clergy, that *the alteration of the laws about tythes is injurious to religion* ? What, to the *doing justice, and loving mercy* ? 'Twas a sense of justice and mercy that gave rise to the attempt, and the love of it that prevailed with the honourable House of Commons to give leave to bring in the bill. If the *divine right* of
tythes

tythes should prove to be a doctrine of *pure and undefiled religion*, yet as neither the *Quakers* desired, nor the House of Commons ever intended to destroy them, but only to make all differences in reference to them the more easily and equitably decided, such an attempt could not be injurious to religion even in this sense. The attempt was only to put it out of the power of the clergy to harraßs and plague honest men, and to oblige them to recover their tythes in a manner as little expensive and vexatious to them as possible. So that if such an attempt was injurious to religion, it must be because religion consists, in the clergy's having a right and power to prosecute to imprisonment, and even death itself, upon the account of small tythes.

BUT, says the letter-writer to his good brethren, " It is judged proper to have you
 " apprised, that should a bill for such indulgences to this people pass into a law,
 " it would, as 'tis apprehended, be a stronger argument in favour of their fanaticism, than any by their advocates yet produced." How pious a concern is here expressed against fanaticism ! How acute and irresistible the argument made use of to prove this important point ! For, as the letter adds, " evident it is, that so far as this
 " bill tends to unsettle the provisions made
 " by our laws for the ministry and maintenance of Christ's true religion, taught
 " in

“ in this church, and established in this state,
 “ so far it will be understood as an establish-
 “ ment of their fanaticism, and an invita-
 “ tion to men unfixed in religion, to profess
 “ themselves of this persuasion, for the sake
 “ of the privileges hereby annexed to it.”

THE privileges intended to be annexed by this bill to Quakerism were, not to prevent their paying tythes, but to have disputes in reference to them determined by the neighbouring justices ; and by consequence the bill did not unsettle the provisions made by law for ministry and maintenance, but ascertain and settle them ; and perhaps one of the greatest defects in the bill was, that it was confined to the *Quakers*, and not made universal. But, for goodness sake, how doth it follow, that the making suits about tythes as little expensive as may be, is an establishment of *broadbrimed hats, green aprons, and silent meetings* ? I am fully persuaded this terror is merely ecclesiastical, and never entered into one *lay* heart in the whole kingdom. The gentleman well knows, that if the annexing privileges to any persuasion, be an argument, as he plainly asserts, in favour of such persuasion ; the established church must stand upon an immoveable foundation, and be an invitation to men unfixed in religion, to profess themselves of the established persuasion for the sake of the privileges annexed to it : for if the annexing privileges to any persuasion is
 an

an invitation to men unfixed in religion to profess themselves of that persuasion for the sake of those privileges; then in proportion as those privileges are greater, such invitation will be stronger. And as the church of *England* hath all the privileges of the kingdom annexed by law to her persuasion, 'tis the strongest invitation to all men in the kingdom, unfixed in religion, to profess themselves of her persuasion for the sake of the privileges annexed to it. So that according to this doctrine, the annexing privileges to any persuasion, is a *bait*, a *proper bait*, and *only a bait*, to men unfixed in religion, to profess themselves of it for the sake of those privileges. A position, which tho' it may not be altogether without the appearance of truth, yet doth not seem to do much honour to religious establishments, as such a method can never be for the interest and advancement of Christ's true religion.

I shall only add, that this letter, supposed to be circulated round the diocese, contains the *severest reflections* on the conduct and resolutions of the honourable House of Commons. For, if what the letter-writer asserts be true, " that should a bill for
 " such indulgences to the *Quakers* pass in-
 " to a law, it would be a stronger argu-
 " ment in favour of their fanaticism than a-
 " ny by their advocates yet produced, would
 " unsettle the provisions made by our laws
 " for the ministry and maintenance of Christ's
 " true

“ true religion in this church established,
 “ would be an invitation to men unfixed in
 “ religion to profess themselves *Quakers*,
 “ would be an attempt injurious to our reli-
 “ gion and properties, and such a bold and
 “ open attack as manifestly endangered our
 “ establishment :” I say, if this be true,
 the House of Commons did what in them
 lay to ‘ unsettle the Provisions made by our
 ‘ laws for the ministry and maintenance of
 ‘ Christ’s true religion in this church esta-
 ‘ blished, to invite men unfixed in religion
 ‘ to profess themselves *Quakers*, and did
 ‘ afford a stronger argument in favour of
 ‘ their fanaticism than any by their advo-
 ‘ cates yet produced ; did make an injurious
 ‘ attempt upon the religion and properties of
 ‘ the clergy, and such a bold and open at-
 ‘ tack upon the establishment as manifestly
 ‘ endangered it.’ For, it is well known,
 they not only gave leave to bring in the
 bill, but actually passed it.

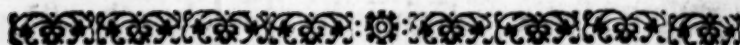
It has been more than once observed,
 that in questions of great importance which
 have come before this House of Commons,
 there has been a very distinguishing regard
 shewn to the interests, nay even to the hu-
 mours, of the clergy ; particularly by those
 gentlemen who are generally thought to
 have the greatest sway and influence in the
 debates and resolutions of that House, and
 were known to countenance and forward this
 bill : Whether such charges as these just
 men-

mentioned be a proper and grateful return for such complaisance and favour, I am willing to leave to the judgment of every unprejudiced man in the kingdom. I am,

S I R,

Tours, &c.

PHILANTHROPUS.



N U M B. L V.

Tet to their general's voice they soon obey'd,

*Innumerable. As when the potent rod
Of Amram's son, in Ægypt's evil day,
Wav'd round the coast, up call'd a pitchy
cloud*

*Of locusts, warping on the eastern wind,
That o'er the realm of impious Pharoah hung
Like night, and darken'd all the land of
Nile.*

MILTON.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

HAD I lived in the plantations, when the laws were made to punish the murder of negroes, I should not have been amazed to have heard an antient planter telling

ling his countrymen, that the negroes had no natural nor social rights; that their lives were the properties of their masters; that they were the produce of their money, and it was at their mercy to save or destroy them as should be most for their convenience; that they were their slaves by the established laws of their country, which was their birth-right; that by the master's having it in his power to put his slave to death, he was more feared, and better obey'd; that to take any degree of power from the master, or any means to compel his servant, was to encourage the slave to rebel, to overturn the establishment, and set up a government of negroes. And should he have run on for an hour describing the terrors of such a change, describing their barbarities in all their rebellions under pretence of liberty; nay, the inconveniences and tyranny of their legal establishments in *Guinea* and *Barbary*; he would doubtless have had attention and applause. Upon such an occasion I should certainly have heard the danger of such an alteration in the constitution, that it would be an encouragement to people to be negroes, with which the country already swarm'd; and that the number of the different, orthodox, colour was small in proportion to those of the different sects of the copper coloured, the olive and the black, who were all ready to unite against the white men: tho' should they effect their purpose, and overturn the establishment, they would

get nothing by the bargain; for whichsoever sect got the uppermost would be certainly greater tyrants than the white people were: and that the differences between the wool of the negro and the hair of the mulatto would become as irreconcilable, as the present differences, which complexions now produce. They would have harangued of the merciful government of the white men; whose religion, as well as interest, obliged them to forbear every act of cruelty; and would have doubtless treated every story of roasting a negro, or burning him in a paste of gunpowder, or even of dropping melting wax on his skin, or any other of those ingenious diversions, as perfect chimeras.

BUT, Sir, would a man, acquainted with this happy kingdom of liberty, this excellent constitution, this christian establishment, give any credit to the letter you published in your last, as coming from any such authority as that which you have insinuated? Can a senator be supposed unwilling to amend any defect in law to procure an easy remedy to a just debt? Can a christian bishop be imagined unwilling to find an expedient to remove a scruple of a mistaken brother? Will it be imagined that either a lawgiver, or a christian, can contend for expensive remedies for small debts, or for ineffectual ones? Much less can they be supposed to desire cruel punishments rather than easy redress. The law which passed the lower
house

house with so great unanimity in behalf of the *Quakers*, proposed no more than that the clergy should have a means to recover a small debt for a small cost, and they should not make use of expensive prosecutions when they might have justice on easier terms; and that they should proceed in such a manner, that they might recover the debt rather than imprison the debtor, without a possibility of so doing; which being the case of the ecclesiastical process, it was therefore called by a great orator, *suing a man for his skin*. However this law came to be thrown out in the upper house, whether through defect in the manner of drawing the bill, or want of time to give it the requisite attention and amendment; yet the design of the bill was so universally approv'd by the whole legislature, that it is impossible your letter can be genuine. A lawyer might be accused of opposing any lessening of the expence of law; and the accusation might find credit, if the person accused was not known to prefer the common good of mankind to the interest of his profession: but shall he, whose office it is to supplicate that every person on his entrance into orders should receive the spirit of peace, be supposed to excite them to contention and cruelty? Can a servant who asks daily forgiveness of his debt of a thousand talents, be in haste to take his brother by the throat, and cast him into prison for a debt of a penny?

D 2

BUT

BUT besides the inconsistency of the letter with the character of the supposed writer, how unsuitable is it to produce any effect in the persons to whom it is pretended to have been directed! Persons, whose learning and education raise them above such low reasoning? Can a learned man be supposed to hear it said, that to avoid expensive suits is an encouragement to fanaticism, without answering, that opinions are no more in our power than our complexions; that nothing can injure the truth but preventing its being inquired into: which is always most effectually done by mixing it with visible falsehoods, which so shockingly offend our understanding, that we condemn the whole without attending to the several parts. 'Tis therefore more probable that fanaticism should be encouraged by persecution, than by a mild and gentle treatment. Persecution may, indeed, enforce outward obedience, but never influence the consciences of men; and that, and only that, is the influence which our clergy, our christian clergy, desire to have over their brethren; and their brethren, they will acknowledge every christian man to be, though his hat be broader, or coat cut different, than the fashion will justify. Our clergy know, that a lust of riches and dominion, and a persecuting spirit, is inconsistent with their profession. Their ambition is to serve, not to rule; to visit the prisoner, not to cast in-

to prison. They know their master told his followers, ' that they who ruled over the
' *Gentiles* exercised lordship over them, and
' their great ones exercised authority over
' them ; but so shall it not be among them.
' But whosoever will be great among them
' shall be their minister ; and whosoever will
' be chief, shall be servant of all. For even
' the son of man came not to be ministered
' unto, but to minister, and to give his life
' a ransom for many.' To men who preach
to others, and practise themselves this doctrine, how fruitless must every attempt be to inflame their minds to cruelty, to high-mindedness, thirst of power or riches ? All the effects they could produce among such men, and such are our christian clergy, would be compassion for the writer ; and prayers for encrease in knowledge, in meekness, and in charity and love to his christian brethren. I may therefore safely pronounce no such letter was ever wrote by any christian P—e on this side the water since the reformation.

ANTICHRIST may, indeed, have told his disciples, Ye know that those that are great in the kingdom of heaven are not to exercise lordship over their brethren, but so it shall not be among you ; ye shall swear your brethren to be subject to you, their ordinaries, and you who are set over them in all things ; and whosoever will be great among you shall be a lord, and whosoever will be chief shall be arch-mustfi of-all ; for

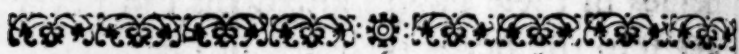
the son of perdition came not to minister, but to be ministered unto, and to sacrifice the lives of many to his pride and ambition. And there may be countries where his laws are obey'd; where the clergy may rule over the state, and hector their prince; and think every law which tends to secure the peace or property of a layman, an invasion of their sacred prerogative. Such a clergy would be sure to blacken the character of every good man that was likely to be advanced by his prince, and commend those who acted more consistently with their views. Such men would prostitute the most sacred mysteries of their religion to the most profane purposes; for the least gain, such men would frequent widows houses to devour them, and for a pretence make long prayers; such men would forget all ties of humanity, and be ready on every occasion, to take their brother by the throat and cast him into prison; and such men, were they in danger to have their violence restrain'd, and their malice curb'd, would think their property struck at; they would in crowds take the alarm, and form themselves in arms under some chosen leader; threaten the peace of the kingdom, and, if their clamours prevailed, how would they glory in their success, applaud their leader, and insult the state! This would be the case in some anti-christian *popish* country, where the reformation has been never heard of; but such schemes

schemes in these happy kingdoms can never enter into the heads or hearts of men. Your intelligence must therefore be considered as a mere fiction, a trick of the *presbyterians* to bring an odium on the *church*, with views either entirely to destroy all establishments, or to set up one of their own, such as they did in forty-one; which I suppose they hope shortly to do: and perhaps now the Witch-Act is repealed, think, by the assistance of the *Quakers*, *Muggletonians*, and *French Prophets*, to raise their old friend *Oliver* to protect them once again in the enjoyment of their natural and social rights, as they call them. Will they never be quiet, never be thankful for the liberty they enjoy? Are they not delivered from many troublesome offices by one law, assisted in the education of their children by another; and can they say we have hang'd any of them since the repeal of the *Bartholomew-Act*? I am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

CLERICUS.



N U M B. LVI.

*Hercule! si quod adest, gratum juvat; hac
prece te oro,
Pingue pecus domino facias.* H O R.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

“ **A**T the anniversary meeting of the cler-
 “ gy of *London*, at *Sion College*, *May*
 “ 18, 1736, it was unanimously resolved, that
 “ the humble thanks of the clergy of *London*
 “ should be given to their most worthy dio-
 “ cesan, the right reverend the lord bishop
 “ of *London*, among other things, for the ma-
 “ ny and great instances of his care and vigi-
 “ lance, *in maintaining the constitution of*
 “ *the church of England* in its present hap-
 “ py establishment, and *the legal rights of*
 “ the clergy; and in particular, for *the stea-*
 “ *dy and vigorous opposition*, which he hath
 “ lately given, to *the attempt that had*
 “ *been made upon them*. It was likewise
 “ unanimously agreed at the same time, that
 “ the said resolution should be *entered* by
 “ their *register*, into the *acts* of the said
 “ college, to remain there as *a perpetual me-*
 “ *morial* of the just sense which the clergy
 “ of *London* had of their singular happiness
 in

“ in being *under the protection and govern-*
 “ *ment* of so wise and able a prelate; who
 “ shewed upon all occasions *so paternal* an
 “ affection to his own clergy, *so great*
 “ *watchfulness* and attention to the *true*
 “ *interest* and welfare of the church of *Eng-*
 “ *land*, and *so much* *prudence* and steadiness
 “ in *defending the doctrines* and rights and
 “ the establishment of it.”

Y o u will please to observe, Sir, the *extraordinary stile* in which his lordship is address'd by his reverend clergy. He is their *most worthy* diocesan, *a wise and able* prelate, they are *under his protection and government*, he hath shewn in a peculiar manner *a paternal affection* to his own clergy, and an *eminent watchfulness* and attention to the *true interest* and welfare of the church of *England*, and a signal *prudence* and steadiness *in defending the doctrines*, the rights, and the establishment of it. Yea, he *hath maintained*, by the *many and great* instances of his care and vigilance, the very *constitution of the church* of England in its present happy establishment, and steadily and vigorously opposed in particular *the attempt* that hath been made upon the legal rights of the clergy.

THE language here made use of to the prelate of *a single* diocese, to one who is *as much a subject* as the meanest layman in the kingdom, is proper, and indeed *peculiar*, to the throne itself. His Majesty's title is that
 of

of defender of the faith. His lordship of London's is not less; for his clergy stile him *the defender of the doctrines* and establishment of the church. His Majesty is *the common protector and governor* of his people, except of the clergy of the diocese of London, who are under *the protection and government* of their own wise and able prelate. His Majesty hath upon all occasions shewn a *paternal affection* to all his subjects; his lordship of London is complemented with the same *paternal affection* to his clergy. His Majesty hath, by his *great steadiness* and prudence, his care and vigilance, *maintained our present happy constitution.* The clergy at Sion College, May 18, 1736, seem to think otherwise, and complement their bishop *as the maintainer of the constitution* of the church of England in its present happy establishment; and have ordered unanimously, that these their *resolutions and votes* should, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*, be entered by their register in the *journals* of the said college. So that we see *the diocese of London* erected into a *seigniorie or principality*, and his lordship of London constituted *the maintainer and the defender of the faith*, by the clergy met together in parliament at Sion College,

IF one were to inquire into the reason of these high complements paid his lordship, and his being thus addressed in the language of *royalty*, it will appear very extraordinary.

It

It was, in particular, for the steady and vigorous opposition he had given lately to the attempt that had been made upon the legal rights of the clergy. The Author of *A Letter to the President and Fellows of Sion College*, tells us, * "We all know the means that had been used to stir up the clergy every where; and what numbers of our body were drawn together to solicit the house of commons, and the house of lords, against some bills that were depending. We know that they were told publickly and privately by some, that the interests of the church were deeply affected, if not likely to be destroyed; and that schemes were entering into, which would probably alienate our parishioners from our ministry, and induce them, from a point of interest, to profess themselves to be *Quakers*." And of my lord of *London* he saith † in particular, "That circular letters were sent by him and encouraged to be sent about to the clergy over *England*; and that these very circular letters were just matters of offence to very many serious and wise persons, who wish as well to the church and state as he doth; and that they much lessen'd his esteem and weight with those, who once looked upon him as the only man, that was fit to be entrusted with the chief direction of ecclesiastical affairs." So that *this steady and vigorous opposition*, for

* p. 9. † p. 34.

which

which the parliament at *Sion College* address their sovereign and defender of the faith, was his writing such circular letters as were very offensive in themselves, and † *produced such a change in relation to the bishop's own interest and power, as made him resolve to RETIRE, and to be freed from the load of publick business.*

As to the *attempt* which they complained had been *made on them*, and which they complement his lordship for so steadily and *vigorously opposing*; this plainly carries in it a reflection on the honourable house of commons, who passed the Tythe-Bill; who yet, I am persuaded, never intended any injury to, or invasion of, the *legal rights* of the clergy.

BUT how unbecoming soever this kind of language may appear, 'tis *modest* in comparison of that made use of by the clergy of another diocese. "On the 19th of *May*, 1736, "the clergy in the neighbourhood of the *Devizes, Wiltshire*, had a meeting to consider "of a proper method of manifesting the "grateful sense they retain of *their preservation from that strange and unheard of "infringement of their rights*, which was "lately attempted by the *Quakers* in their "tythe-bill." The plain consequence of which is, that if the *Quakers attempted* to infringe the clergy's rights, the commons *did more*. The commons actually passed

† p. 9, 10.

the tythe-bill, and thereby did *actually infringe*, in a strange and unheard of manner, the rights of the clergy, in the judgment of this reverend convention.

THE effect of this dutiful resolution, and profound debate of the clergy of *Wiltshire*, was, “ A resolution to depute two members
 “ of their body to attend their learned and
 “ worthy diocesan, to return his lordship
 “ their humble and hearty thanks, for *the*
 “ *indefatigable pains* he had taken, and
 “ *the firm stand* he made, *agreeable to the*
 “ *trust* and duty of his high station, *in defence*
 “ of their just and *indisputable* privileges;
 “ and to beseech his lordship to express their
 “ sincere respect and gratitude to those no-
 “ ble peers of the realm, who shewed *a due*
 “ *regard* for the rights and properties of
 “ the clergy of *England* on that occasion.”

ACCORDING to this language, the *trust and duty* of his lordship's high station, is to take *indefatigable pains*, and to make a *firm stand* against any alteration in the laws respecting tythes; even tho' those laws are found to be oppressive upon the subject, and to have given occasion to many injurious, cruel and unchristian persecutions. To *harrass* and *imprison* honest men, and to *recover tythes* by malicious and *expensive suits*, is, it seems, *the just and indisputable privilege* of the clergy; and his lordship is desired to express their sincere respect and gratitude to those noble peers, who shewed a
 due

due regard for these their just and indisputable privileges. Every other peer of the realm, who had compassion for scrupulous consciences, and whose humanity and honour lead them to relieve a body of men, who were continually subject to *ghostly malice* and *spiritual revenge*, shewed *no due regard* for the rights and properties of the clergy of *England*; but rather countenanced and joined in this attempt in *a strange and unheard of manner*, to infringe their rights. Such is the respect these clergy shew to the House of Commons, and to all those noble Peers of the realm, who would have concurred with them in passing this bill. Thus jealous are they of their imaginary rights, that if they apprehend a single *Tytbe Cock* or Tenth Apple to be endangered, they shall take *indefatigable pains* to preserve them, and by circular letters spread the danger of the church and establishment thro' every diocese and parish in the Kingdom. Whereas at the same time they have seen the very *natural rights* of their fellow subjects absolutely *taken away*, without any *remonstrance* against the iniquity and injustice. Yea, they have *encouraged* and promoted it, and with an *unmanly pleasure*, rejoiced and triumphed in it. I am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

NUMB.

N U M B. LVII.

———— *Venerabile soli*

*Sortiti ingenium, divinatorumque capaces,
Atque exercendis capiendisq; artibus apti,
Sensum a cœlesti demissum traximus arce.*

JUVEN. Sat. 15.

I FIND in a paper, entitled, *An Epistle to the People call'd Quakers*, the following most instructive and wonderful paragraph; which I think deserves to be made more publick, for the common benefit and information: *Viz.* * “ Upon occasion of
“ mentioning the commission by which these
“ gentlemen (the clergy) pretend to act,
“ and the extraordinary power they have
“ always supposed themselves to convey to
“ one another; — upon a mention of that
“ power, no less than giving the Holy
“ Ghost; this was so far from being defend-
“ ed in the common acceptation of the
“ words, that that great and learned critick
“ declared, he had always considered them,
“ and always used them, as *precatory* on-
“ ly. † — And though some of his brethren
“ at first seemed a little shocked with the
“ open plain manner of the assertion, yet

* p. 15.

† p. 17.

“ you

“ you did not hear them in any way publicly contradict it.”

THE great and learned critick mentioned by this writer, to whom the clergy in and about the *Devizes, Wilts*, paid their acknowledgments for the services they received from his aid in the affair of the tythe-bill, will be allowed by every one to be a competent judge of *the powers ecclesiastical and spiritual* belonging to the clergy; and to be equally capable of communicating and conveying all such ghostly powers and divine gifts to them, as any person in the whole kingdom. And therefore this free and open declaration of his own judgment, in a very august and *solemn assembly*, and in the presence of all his reverend brethren, in reference to the commission of the clergy, and the extraordinary power by which they have almost constantly affirm'd they act; ought to be looked upon as the real and *inward sense* of his mind, unless we would charge him with the most *shaming prostitution* of his conscience and honour: which, as it would be inconsistent with his *past character* in life, it would be the highest injustice to suspect, or accuse him of.

WHOEVER will consider the form of ordination made use of in our established church, *Receive the Holy Ghost, &c. Whosoever sins ye remit, &c.* would be apt to conclude from the positive *preceptory* form of the expressions, that it was not merely a prayer

prayer to God that the persons ordained might receive the Holy Ghost, and have a power of remitting and retaining sins ; but that it was *a real communication* of the Holy Ghost, and of the power of remitting, &c. from *the hands* of the ordainer into *the head* of the ordained. And in this sense I now it hath been understood by many of our most eminent and orthodox divines.

THE very learned and reverend bishop *Beveridge* * gives this account of the power and authority of the bishops and presbyters: " Our Lord being dead and raised again, and ascended into heaven, that he might leave behind him persons to maintain his place, promoted his apostles into bishops. The form of this first episcopal consecration we have *John xx. 21, 22. Jesus said to his disciples, peace be unto you. As the father hath sent me, so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and said to them, receive the Holy Ghost.* —

And being thus created bishops, and being Christ's vicegerents during his absence, they also created others ; since the spirit breathed on them, by Christ, was poured out upon others, by their imposition of hands. And so by a perpetual succession, bishops regularly ordained are, as far as relates to the episcopal dignity, the

* *Annot. in can. rim. apud Cotel. v. 1. p. 455.*

“vicegerents of Christ upon earth, and
 “presbyters the vicegerents of the apo-
 “stles.” This, he tells us, was the opinion
 of *Ignatius*, who, in his genuine Epistles
 says: “That the bishop sits in the place of
 “God, and the presbyters in the place of
 “the synod of the apostles.” *Epist. ad*
Magnes. And again, *Epist. ad Trull.* “The
 “bishop is the type of the father of the u-
 “niverse; and the presbyters, as it were
 “the privy council of God, and the con-
 “junction of the apostles of Christ.”

So that according to this doctrine of this
 reverend prelate, the apostles were advanced
 into the *higher order* of bishops, being con-
 secrated by Christ, when he said to them
 authoritatively, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost*;
 the apostles made other bishops, by convey-
 ing, by imposition of hands, the same spirit
 to them; and they others in a regular suc-
 cession, together with presbyters, by the
 same supernatural and miraculous convey-
 ance. And I dare affirm, that as the youngest
 of our *university sprigs* modestly tells the
 bishop at his ordination, that *he is moved by*
the Holy Ghost to take on him his office; so
 he makes no doubt but that the Holy Ghost
 is secretly *instilled* into him by the *touch* of
 his ordainer's fingers. Such virtue is there
 in their sacred hands, and so easily is it con-
 veyed by these *vicegerents* of God to the
 lower order of his privy counsellors; like the
 precious ointment upon *Aaron's* head, that

an trickling down upon his beard, and diffused itself upon the very borders of his garment !

AND indeed, unless this *conveyance* of the Holy Ghost by the form of ordination be allowed to be *real*, will not the dignity of our ordination-office be greatly debased? *Receive the Holy Ghost, authoratively* spoken, hath something in it extremely grand and affecting. For, 'tis as much as to say : Be thou *greater* than the greatest of other men : receive a gift, that sets thee above the kings and princes of the earth ; that consecrates thee into God's vicegerent, and admits thee into the number of God's privy council. Receive authority to *bind and loose* in heaven and earth ; and from thy *exalted engine* to dictate to the listening people, to demand attention to thy words *as oracles*, and to insist on obedience to thy voice *as the ambassador* of Christ. But how *cold and low*, how unaffecting and insipid, will the meaning be in the *precatory* sense of the form ! *Receive the Holy Ghost. i. e. Almighty God, who alone workest great marvels, send down upon our bishops and curates the healthful spirit of thy grace.* Or, *I wish, I desire, I pray*, that you may receive the Holy Ghost. The energy, the *spirit and life*, is gone, if the form be only *precatory* ; and people will be apt to think, that the wish and prayer of any pious and honest man for the Holy Ghost, would ge-

nerally be as effectual, as the mere wish and prayer of an ordaining bishop.

BESIDES, how doth it debase the office and detract from the dignity, of our bishops and presbyters, if there be nothing more than a prayer, if there be no real conveyance of the Holy Ghost? For, if any one comes to be ordained a bishop or presbyter, and hath no more of the Holy Ghost *after* his consecration than he had *before*, many will be apt to suspect that he never had it at all; that if he was an *infidel*, a rake, a knave, or a *fool*, before imposition of hands, he would remain so afterwards, and not become one jot the wiser or better man; that he can have no *authorative power* to forgive sin, as 'tis certain he cannot, if he be destitute of the Holy Ghost; and that an honest layman may as well forgive sin in a *declarative*, or *conditional* manner, *viz.* upon the supposition of repentance, as any bishop or priest whatsoever; that he can have no right to be believed *in verbo sacerdotis*, nor any farther than he hath good sense or reason to recommend what he preaches; which would oftentimes occasion very bad effects, and sometimes produce even a TRIUMPHANT CATASTROPHE amongst our reverend clergy; and finally, that his right to tythes would become precarious and doubtful, since nothing is more certain and self-evident, than that the divine right of our clergy to tythes is wholly founded upon their receiving the Holy

Holy Ghost in ordination; since tythes, when due by divine right, are the sacred property of the priesthood: Whereas, if the priesthood be not extraordinarily convey'd by the power and communication of the Holy Ghost in ordination, it cannot possibly be so convey'd at all. But if the words, *Receive thou the Holy Ghost*, be only *precatory*, 'tis very *uncertain*, at least, whether there be any real conveyance of it or not, because it may be *questioned* whether the prayer of the ordainer be *always* heard.

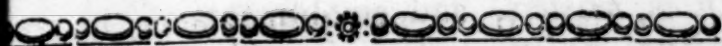
THESE, and many other consequences that I could mention, will follow, from supposing the ordination form to be only *precatory*. It will greatly detract from the *sanctity* of our clergy's persons and characters; and there will be too much reason to imagine, that the venerable titles of *Right Reverend* and *Reverend*, are only given them by the same custom and courtesy, as we give the title of Doctor to Apothecaries and Farriers, and never really deserved, as the reward of learning, piety and strict merit. But consequences of this sort our clergy will be ready enough to draw of themselves, without any farther assistance.

AND therefore I shall only add, that if the great and learned critick, referred to, did publickly declare, that he *always considered and used* the form of ordination, *Receive thou the Holy Ghost*, &c. as *precatory* only, that then the clergy of his own

diocese must, in all good reason, be supposed never to have had the Holy Ghost conveyed to them by the imposition of his hands: since 'tis a plain acknowledgment, that he had not the disposal of it in his power. So that we have one diocese in the kingdom, at least, where the Holy Ghost doth not come to the clergy *ex officio*, and where the imposition of hands conveys nothing marvellous and extraordinary. But as he amply made up this *spiritual* loss by an abundant zeal and labour for the preservation of their *temporals*, he well deserved the acknowledgments of his clergy: and who doth not admire their prudence and piety in their resolutions to thank him; who, tho' he confesses he had not the Holy Ghost to give them, yet did them substantial service in the affair of their tythes.

WHETHER his brethren appearing a *little shocked* at first, at the open and plain manner of the assertion, did not shew they were of a different sentiment from this able critick, or whether their silence, in not publicly contradicting him, did not shew that they consented with him in judgment; whether they were shocked at an assertion they believed false, or at *the unseasonableness* of making it if they believed it true; whether they could not oppose it in conscience, or whether, if they could, they did not sacrifice the truth to times and seasons, to interest or prudence: these are important points, which

which I wholly leave to the learned and critical part of our clergy to determine.



N U M B. LVIII.

THE author of the *Fable of the Bees*, in his *Essay on Charity Schools*, has the following very severe reflection: That if the promoters and managers of these schools would agree to pull off the mask, we should soon discover, that what ever they pretend to, they aim at nothing so much as to strengthen their party; and that the great sticklers for the church, by educating children in the principles of *religion*, mean, inspiring them with a *superlative veneration* for the clergy of the church of *England*, and a strong aversion and *immortal animosity* against all that dissent from it.

THAT I may be before hand with sharp-sighted and censorious criticks, and prevent the clamour that may be raised against me for quoting a writer of such *ill fame*, it is necessary that I should declare in the first place, that I have as mean an opinion of this author's principles, as the most *staunch* and *thorough-bred* churchman can desire; and look upon him as having evil designs against the christian revelation, and against vertue and religion in general. I think likewise,

that I can discover in him a manifest disaffection to our excellent church as by law established, and a rooted enmity against the titles, powers, and emoluments of the *spiritual rulers* and *under-officers* employed in it. And therefore, if the heavy charge above mentioned, relating to *charity schools*, had rested solely on his authority and credit, I might have been inclined to think it invidious and insolent; since no man of candour, or common equity, would be easily brought to believe, that *charity itself* was debased into an infamous engine of *craft* and *ambition*, and a nursery of *discord* and *faction*.

BUT ungrateful truths, that tend to the dishonour of those whom we would willingly entertain a better opinion of, sometimes force themselves upon us, in spite of all our *good-nature* and inclination to the contrary. And I must own, that thus it has happened with myself, and that a late incident has given me strong grounds of suspicion, that the bold and *irreverent* insinuation of this prejudiced writer, this enemy to our venerable clergy and ecclesiastical constitution, is not entirely *groundless*.

GOING by chance into one of the principal churches of this great city, I found the poor children, who wear the parish livery, as a publick acknowledgment of the care it takes of their *education* and their *souls*, at one of the stated exercises for edification and improvement in *christian knowledge*. Upon which

which it was natural to expect, that the *catechism*, which was put into their hands, was really intended to instruct them in the knowledge of the *holy scriptures*, and of the doctrines and duties of *christianity*, and contained motives to *vertue* and a *religious* life. But to my great surprize, they were only repeating by rote, as the *foundation principles* of their future conduct, *a discourse concerning the Common Prayer*, by way of *question and answer*;* and instead of the excellency of the knowledge of *Christ Jesus our lord*, were taught nothing else but the excellency of the *rubric and the service of the church of England*. And that this strange scene, which at first sight had some appearance of use and solemnity, might be all one *uniform* piece, it concluded with singing the *gloria patri*. It appear'd to me to be a very preposterous method of educating poor children, and training them up in the *nurture and admonition of the lord*, and to be peaceable, industrious, and useful members of the community, thus to corrupt the simplicity of their minds by *early prejudices*, and inculcate a blind and implicit veneration for human forms and rituals; and the following reflections, which I made upon it, I now submit to the judgment of the impartial reader.

* Printed for J. WYAT.

1. As I observed, that both the *catechists* and the *catecheumens* were about one age, and size of understanding, and that there was no grave and reverend clergyman, nor any other person of sufficient abilities, to preside at this solemn act of *religious school discipline*, in order to remove difficulties that might occur, and resolve several knotty points, which are treated of in the *catechism*, in a familiar way, adapted to the weakness of the poor children's apprehensions; I took it for granted, either that this method of instruction was wholly intended to teach them a *sett of words and phrases*, as what was fully sufficient to excite and maintain a blind *mechanical* zeal, and of much greater importance, with respect to the end proposed in their education, than their having *ideas*, and the *knowledge of things*; or else, that the excellency of the common-prayer was looked upon as an essential point, fit to be inculcated on the minds of children while they were *soft* and yielding, and capable of any impression, in order to its being deeply fixed and rivetted there for any *future services*, that the occasions of the church, or the views of the clergy, the *church representative*, might require.

2. As the doxologies used in *scripture* are at least equally *sacred* and *orthodox*, and abundantly more *plain* and *intelligible* than those prescribed by the *church*, as containing

taining the *collective* and more *profound* sense of scripture; I imagined, that it would have discovered greater discretion, and *maternal* indulgence to these *minor catecheumens*, to have fed them with the *sincere milk of the word*, from which, as it is *digestible food*, they might receive some nourishment, and to have prescribed forms of devotion which they might sing with the *understanding*, than to enter them so far at first into the hidden mysteries of faith, which they can, surely, have no more notion of, than if they had been taught to sound and chaunt forth four lines of *greek* or *arabic*. And I could hit upon no reason for this surprising conduct so probable as this, *viz.* That these babes in knowledge, being puzzled betimes with the *incomprehensibles* of religion, their reason might be so *dashed*, and *soundly mortified*, as not to dare, ever after, to rise in rebellion against any of the *articles* or *creeds* of the church.

3dly, It plainly appears, that, in the opinion of those who ordered the use of the *catechism*, to instil an early notion of the fitness of prescribed forms of prayer, and an implicit reverence for the service of the church of *England*, before the young *pupils* are capable of understanding the controversies that relate to these subjects, is at least one essential branch of *instructing the charity children in the principles of religion*.— But as *common sense* immediately suggested

to

to me, that nothing can be a part of religion but what is enjoyn'd by the authority of God, which, certainly, may be compleatly known without knowing any thing of *acts of parliament*; and that christianity, which is allowed by all *protestants* to be *entire* and *perfect* in the New Testament, may be thoroughly understood by those who never heard of the *forms* and *rituals* appointed to be used in particular churches: I could nor help thinking, that these very persons, who took upon them to regulate the education of our youth, seemed themselves to want some *able instructor* to teach them the *fundamentals* of true piety, and the *principles of the oracles of God*: and that ignorant children, who were generally left quite rude and *untutored* by their parents, could make very little improvement in the knowledge of *religion*, whatever else they might be supposed to learn, under the direction and care of such managers. But the most material objection of all, and what stumbled me most grievously, was this,

4thly, THAT it could not enter into my imagination of what use it would be to the children themselves, in fitting them for *menial* services, and the peculiar duties of their *low station*, to stuff their heads with idle notions of church-government, and inculcate an ignorant stubborn zeal for *cere-monies*, and *forms of prayer*. Lessons, thought I with myself, of *moderation*, and
fruga-

frugality, of *humility* and *industry*, enforc'd by the authority of God, and the principles of real christianity; — lessons recommending a *peaceable* and *decent* behaviour, a *respectful* carriage to their superiors, and the avoiding needless *disputes*, and *controversies*; — and catechisms that point out and explain the *substantial* and *weightier* matters of the gospel, and shew the little stress that is to be laid on *intricate* doctrines, the *outward order* of publick worship, and things of mere *human* institution; these are visibly calculated to restrain their passions, and correct the *rudeness* of their education, to make them peaceable subjects, and useful in the *inferior offices* of life. But what connection is there between being taught *why the people make responses*, *why Gloria Patri is so often repeated*, and *why the priest sometimes stands, while the people kneel*: or between being *for forms of prayer*, or for *the church of England's form of prayer*; what connection, I say, is there between these things, and *any one* of those religious and moral virtues, which are the rectitude of human nature, and contribute to the good of society? A man that worships without a form, or that dissents from the common form, may have as much loyalty to his *King*, and as much affection and duty to his *country*, as the most devoted and strenuous advocate for established prayers and ceremonies. He may be as inoffensive and serviceable in his
neigh.

neighbourhood, as discreet and regular in his *family*, as faithful a *servant*, as honest and industrious a *mechanic*, as steady and generous a *friend*, and as great an enemy to publick *riots* and *insolencies*. This let experience and history testify. How then can such *catechisms*, and methods of education, as we are now speaking of, answer in any degree the end of the institution of *charity-schools*, so as to make them schools for the promotion of *real* christian knowledge, and benefactions to the *community*? *Catechisms*, and *methods of education*, without which true original christianity may be as *thoroughly learn'd*, and the welfare of the publick as *effectually secur'd*. — If, indeed, we are not contented with making the children under our management good christians, and honest men, but aim at training up a new race of *sound*, *obsequious*, and *mobbish* churchmen, the way we are already got into, will be of eminent service to our design; but then the scheme itself will be liable to this *specious* objection, that it converts *charity-schools* into *seminaries of bigotry*, and *party-zeal*.



N U M B. LIX.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

W H E N men undertake to write of religious matters, it is not altogether improper to consult their reason as they go along; and for want of this necessary precaution, we have seen some great men deviate into very erroneous by-paths, and fall into very extravagant and silly opinions. I choose to instance at present in an admired writer of the church of *England*, I mean the late bishop *Beveridge*. I suppose I may name him without offence, because tho' his station and dignity were very eminent, yet it will not be said that any man's writings are privileged from examination, or that the weakness and inconclusiveness of the reasoning contained in them may not be laid open, in order to prevent others from being misled by them.

THIS learned man, in his treatise, intitled, *Private Thoughts upon Religion*, has one article [article 3.] upon the trinity: Wherein (whether from an affectation of quaintness in expression, a fondness for mystery, or from whatever other cause) he
has

has, to my thinking, elevated his thoughts and pen to a great sublimity of nonsense. I shall give you his first paragraph entire.

“ THIS, I confess, is a mystery which
 “ I cannot possibly conceive, yet it is a
 “ truth which I can easily believe ; yea,
 “ therefore it is so true, that I can easily
 “ believe it, because it is so high, that I
 “ cannot possibly conceive it ; for it is im-
 “ possible any thing should be true of the
 “ infinite Creator, which can be fully ex-
 “ pressed to the capacities of a finite crea-
 “ ture : and, for this reason I ever did, and
 “ ever shall, look upon those apprehensions
 “ of GOD to be the *truest*, whereby we
 “ apprehend him to be the most incompre-
 “ hensible ; and that to be *the most true*
 “ of GOD, which seems *the most impossible*
 “ unto us.”

IF this paragraph had been wrote by some *presbyterian* parson, by some ignorant *mechanick*, or some *quaking* brother or sister, one might have ventured to have called it jargon, romance, and what not : and even the *Weekly Miscellany* would, I believe, have joyn'd in such a cry ; but as it is the work of a divine of the church of *England*, let us examine it with decency and sobriety.

THE plain sense of this paragraph, (if there be any sense in it) when stripped of those pretty antitheses and contrasts in the expression which abound in it, is wound
 up

up in the last words, *viz. That those things are most true of GOD which seem most impossible unto us* : Than which, there never was any position uttered more contrary to sense and reason. For from hence it would follow, both that there is a trinity of persons in the godhead, and that there is not: for that is one of the *most impossible* things (if there are any degrees of impossibility) that I can think of. It is possible there may be a trinity of persons in the godhead; which therefore, according to the bishop's rule, ought not to be believed. But the proposition which seems *most impossible*, and therefore *most true*, is, I say, that there is a trinity, and that there is not. These other propositions likewise, that God Almighty is just, and yet he is not just; that he is eternal, and not eternal; that he is merciful, and yet not merciful; powerful and yet weak; benevolent and cruel; perfect and imperfect: these all seem *most impossible* unto us, and therefore, the bishop says, are *most true of GOD*.

MOREOVER, the good bishop did not consider, that this same principle [that those things are most true of God which seem most impossible unto us] does no more conclude in behalf of his favourite doctrine of *three* persons, than of any other number. For were I to affirm that there are four, or fourteen, or a hundred persons in the divine nature, I do not see how bishop *Beve-*

ridge could avoid believing it; since he could not but allow it to seem *impossible enough* in any reason. So that, without using more words in so plain a matter, I take the liberty to say, that I think the bishop has placed the doctrine of the trinity on a most rotten foundation; and that if there were no other arguments to evince the *truth* of that doctrine, than that of its seeming to be *impossible*, I should make no scruple to pronounce it *false*.

THE bishop goes on a little lower, “ O heart-amazing, thought-devouring, unconceivable mystery! Who cannot believe it to be true of the glorious deity? Certainly, *none but such as are able to apprehend it*; which I am sure I cannot, and believe no other creature can. And, because no creature can possibly conceive *how it should be so*, I therefore believe *it really to be so*.” — An ordinary man, after having represented any thing as so very *mysterious*, so *heart-amazing*, and *thought-devouring*, would have been apt to have cried out, *who can believe it?* as supposing it, though true, to contain at least matter of some demur and difficulty; and would have given for answer, *those who are enlightened by the spirit of God, those who are guided by the word of God*, or some such answer, as might have extended to the body of true christians. But bishop B. though he represents it so full of difficulty [I beg pardon,

[I should have said impossibility] asks, Who *cannot believe it*? and cries out, with a peculiar strain of wit, “certainly none but “such as are able to apprehend it;” which, he tells us, *no creature can*. It follows from hence, I think, that all *Jews, Turks, Infidels,* and *Hereticks*, believe this doctrine: for thus the argument stands,

THEY only who are able to apprehend this doctrine do not believe it:

No creature is able to apprehend it: Therefore,

No creature does not believe it. — *i. e.* Every man does.

THE two first propositions are the bishop's; the third, I think, naturally follows from them. Or thus,

NONE disbelieve this doctrine, says the bishop, but such as are able to apprehend it. We may then, in imagination at least, divide the world into two sorts of men, *viz.* such as believe this doctrine, and such as being able to apprehend it do not believe it. But of this latter sort there are none: For, he says, *no creature can apprehend it*. Then it remains, that all the men in the world are of the former sort, *i. e.* all men believe this doctrine.

BEFORE I conclude, I must do the bishop the justice to acknowledge, that he has, in the latter end of his essay upon this article, produced a much more substantial reason for this doctrine, and indeed the only

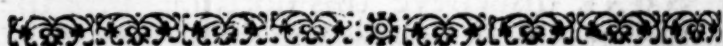
substantial reason that I think can be given for the belief of it. His words are, " Let
 " this suffice thee, that he who best knows
 " himself hath avouched it of himself, and
 " therefore thou oughtest to believe it. See
 " *Matt.* xxviii. 19. 1 *John* v. 7."

S I R,

THE moral to all this is, that we should beware how we suffer *devotion* and *rapture*, *extasy*, and *zeal*, to get the better of our *reason*; since we see they could lead so great and so good a man as bishop *B.* into so palpable an error. I am,

S I R,

Tours, &c.



N U M B. LX.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

I BEG you'll favour the following *lines* with a place in your paper; they are some remarks on Mr. *Prynn's* letter, *August* 5. 1736.

HE begins with a quotation from lord *Shaftsbury*, viz. " The noblest actor, and
 " the noblest part which can be assign'd to
 " any

“ any mortal upon this earthly stage, is to
 “ act for liberty and mankind.”

I shall not meddle with his comment, but only observe, that a strict and sacred regard to the interest or cause of *liberty*, is in fact treating *human nature* like what it is, and will ever reflect the greatest glory on such a character. What this writer means by his next paragraph, I don't clearly discern; he says, that the above principle, or this œconomy, is maintained by a *resignation*, a *sacrifice*, and *mutual yielding of natures one to another*; which he illustrates by a simile drawn from the dissolution and transmutation of bodies.

“ THE vegetables, he tells us, by their
 “ death sustain the *animals*, and animal bo-
 “ dies dissolv'd enrich the earth, and raise
 “ again the vegetable world. The nume-
 “ rous insects are reduced by the superior
 “ kinds of birds and beasts, and these again
 “ are check'd by man, who, in his turn,
 “ submits to other natures, and resigns his
 “ *form* a sacrifice in common to the rest of
 “ things; and if in nature the sacrifice of
 “ interests can appear so just, why should
 “ not all inferior interests be subjected to
 “ the superior interest of the publick, whose
 “ prosperity and welfare every subject is
 “ concerned to promote by *the best of all*
 “ *human affections, the love of his Coun-*
 “ *try?*”

T H U S he evidently blends inevitable necessity, and what has ever been esteemed both by sacred and prophane writers a *vanity* to which the creation is unwillingly subjected, with publick social virtue : But to let us know that he has the very same ideas of the one as the other, he proceeds in his next paragraph to tell us, “ That a physician, when he has found out a distemper, will vary his regimen according to the circumstances of his patient : And that the *limbs* (which are so many members of the natural body) are frequently cut off for the preservation of the whole; and this grand maxim of a sacrifice, or a yielding of interests, is the pursuit of every man in private life who understands his own interest rightly.”

H E R E we see the writ *de Hæretico Comburendo*, and all the cruelties of the *inquisition*, defended upon the foot of nature and *jure divino*. But methinks Mr. *Prynne* has stretched a little too far, and has said more than a *ghostly inquisitor* would have said, viz. that to be *cut off* and *destroyed*, is the pursuit of every man in private life who understands his own interest rightly. He adds,

“ Now this is the great *art* and mystery of government ; but the misfortune is, no body cares to make a *resignation* or *sacrifice* of their private interests to
“ the

“ the publick good, whenever a competition arises between them.”

W H A T this great art and mystery of government is, we are to learn by what he said before ; and that is, how to apply a proper *emetick* or *cathartick* to the conscience, or in the failure of that, an *Axe* or an *Halter* to cut off and destroy the member for the health of the body. — The very next sentence intimates a wild retort, or convulsive reluctance of the writer : “ But the “ misfortune is, says he, *no body* cares to “ make a resignation : ” — This *q. d.* is the great art and mystery of government, but *no body* cares to be thus governed ; *i. e.* every body dislikes a resignation of their *lives* and *fortunes* at the arbitrary pleasure of the governor. So that this *publick virtue* which Mr. P. has recommended as most befitting the *great art* and *mystery* of government, *no body* cares for ; consequently, his plan of government must be supported by a violence offered to the common sense of mankind. He further adds,

“ B U T as a judge on the bench cannot “ give the cause in favour of the plaintiff “ and defendant too, so neither can any “ minister upon the face of the earth oblige two contending parties of men, whose “ views are directly opposite,” —

S U R E L Y Mr. P. might have considered, that a judge's province is not to determine from opposite views, but from the just-

ness and legality of the cause ; but whether to act on this principle be policy in a minister of state or no, is a question, which if Mr. P. should appear to have answered in the negative by what follows, then he ought to apply those words of the wise man, *That as the legs of the lame are not equal, so is a comparison in the mouth of a fool.* He goes on,

“ THIS was, *says he*, the case of the late attempt to repeal the *Corporation* and *Test Acts*. Some zealous men among the dissenters were very solicitous in the affair ; but the national church was alarmed at the proposal, and the sense of the nation appeared to be against it ; therefore it was a wise and just measure, for gentlemen who might, in their own opinion, be for the repealing those acts, to submit their private sentiments to those of the publick, and not to hazard the disobliging the body of the people, in compliance with the request of a party, small in proportion to the whole kingdom, which was in general against making the alteration proposed.”

Now we see on whom these arts and mysteries of government are to be exercised, and to whom the medicinal and chyrurgical operations are to be applied, *viz.* the *protestant dissenters*. But how will Mr. P—’s reasoning hold ? Let us for once suppose the case to be as he has stated it, *viz.* that the
sense

sense of the nation was against the *repeal*, and that it alarmed the national church; will it hence follow that it was either a *wise* or a *just* measure for gentlemen to sacrifice their own *private judgments* on this account? If this be a truth which we may depend upon, it will hence also follow on the same *ratio*, that where gentlemen have given their votes for any other *acts* which they have known to be contrary to the *sense of the nation*, and the *interest of the clergy*, they must be equally chargeable with *folly* and *injustice*. But again, upon Mr. P—'s principle, *private virtue* must be sacrificed to the cry of the *mob*, and the alarms of a Dr. *Sacheverel*; for it is well known, that the honest, judicious, and unprejudiced part of the people are *friends* to liberty, and as such abhor every degree of persecution; (a brand of distinction by disqualifying laws is undoubtedly a degree of persecution;) and that the most pious, and christian part of the clergy were far from disliking the alteration proposed. Nay, if Mr. P. would but consider the nature of the thing requested in an impartial light, and if he be a friend to revelation, he will soon see that the clergy are under the most strong obligations, both from duty and interest, to solicit the *repeal*; in as much, as it would rescue an ordinance of their master's from such a notorious and publick prostitution, at the same time that it would ease the scruples

ples of many a conscientious clergyman, who thinks himself under the dreadful necessity of being an instrument in this flagrant *iniquity*. But Mr. P. seems to have formed a very different notion of it, for he tells us,

“THESE *Acts* always were, and still are, considered by the *church Whigs* as the barriers of their establishment, which they apprehend would be too naked and exposed without them; and if the *presbyterian* government was established here, (as it is in *Scotland*,) and a *Test-Act* in its favour, I very much question, whether the members of such a church would be willing to part with it.”

I deny the truth of this first assertion, and could easily prove, were it necessary, that the *principle* is inconsistent with *Whiggism*, either in church or state: It is indeed, a very plausible pretext, by which the high and zealous clergy instill into the minds of the people such prejudices; but they themselves well know, that it is so far from being a reason for the thing, that, if it would prove any thing, it would prove too much, *viz.* that the establishment could not be supported without a violation of the natural rights of mankind, and an open prophanation of *reason*, and the most sacred *rite* of the christian institution. Is it not then horridly vile in any writer, to defend his point by the din of the prejudiced and bigotted multitude?—Again he says, that if the *presbyterians*

were

were established here, with a *Test-Act* in their favour, he much questions whether they would be willing to part with it. But if he could prove this, what then? Why, it would only shew, that dissenters could act in *unchristian part* as much as the church does: But this will no more lessen the crime, than Mr. P—'s defending persecution will be proved to be no fault, because the church of *Rome* finds her account in it.

BUT from what he has here hinted, I can't but question, whether he knows any thing of the principles either of the *presbyterians* in *North Britain*, or of the *protestant dissenters* here. The *presbyterians* in *North Britain* neither have, nor desire to have such a test-law, as Mr. P. seems to think necessary for the support of an established church. Neither would they accept of such a law, if it were offered them. Fond as they are of their establishment, they would be very unwilling to have it secured by a law that should oblige every man that holds any civil post in *North Britain*, to qualify himself for it by receiving the *sacrament* of the *Lord's Supper* after the usage of the church of *Scotland*.

AND as little does Mr. P. seem to know what the principles of a *protestant dissenter* are. I beg leave therefore to tell him, that every *protestant dissenter* must act out of character, and no longer remain a *protestant dissenter*, that attempts or desires an *establish-*

blishment amongst themselves: A protestant dissenter's principles do most naturally lead him, not to envy the advantages which the *church of England* or the *kirk of Scotland* enjoy from an establishment; and in no wise to injure the church, or molest the state: but, on the contrary, whilst in the possession of any degree of liberty, to behave worthy of every degree of it which he enjoys or desires.— But Mr. P. adds,

“ THE dissenters should all of them (the
 “ wiser sort do) consider the singularity of
 “ their situation: They hold their liberty
 “ by no other tenure, than the continuance
 “ of a *Whig administration*, which hath
 “ restored their lost rights of educating their
 “ children, and worshipping God according
 “ to their consciences; for the sake of which
 “ their forefathers crossed the *Atlantick*
 “ sea, and fought for that freedom in the
 “ woods and desarts of *America*, which
 “ they were denied in their own native
 “ country.”

I choose to leave this paragraph as I find it, and am persuaded it will plead powerfully the cause of the *protestant dissenters*; since every generous *Briton* must, while he reads it, feel a glowing abhorrence in his own breast: especially if he reflects, that men of this stamp and character still lie under the infamous brand of *disqualifying laws*; and are represented thereby as dangerous enemies to the constitution. He proceeds to tell us, that

“ WERE

“ WERE they to rise up now, and see any of their descendants in these days of liberty threatening to undermine the government, and *make the ministry feel their real weight*, as a late writer advises them, they would erase their names out of the number of the elect, unworthy the liberty they enjoy, and deserv- ing themselves to feel the weight of a tyrannical administration in the first place, (as they most certainly will) if ever such a ministry (which God avert) should by their influence be introduced among us.”

THIS expression, *make the ministry feel their real weight*, which Mr. P. has quoted from the OLD WHIG of June 3. ‘He calls a threatening to undermine the government, insolence, arrogance, presumption; the few insulting the many; the minority of a part menacing the *whole*, flying in the face of the community, the national church, the parliament and ministry; the spirit of discord and faction; and he asks, what more could *Fog* or *D’Anvers*, those mighty hectors, do?’ Methinks here is a great collection of *heat*, which shews Mr. P—’s *violence*, and according to his own maxim *proves an unanswerable reason against the fitness* of his censure. But more directly; it does not appear that the OLD WHIG meant any such thing by what he says, as to threaten, insult,

sult, and menace the ministry ; or to sow discord and faction, in order to undermine the government : Nor can Mr. P. prove this, till he can assure us, that there are no other gentlemen in the nation, besides the *sitting members*, that are thorough friends to the interest of liberty and mankind. For pray, Sir, how is this to fly in the face of the community, parliament, ministry, to advise them, *i. e.* the protestant dissenters, to unite their force of interest and endeavour, in order to secure a number of friends, who have virtue and resolution enough, openly to abet the cause of liberty, and increase the *glorious* and *considerable number* they already have. — The natural, and as I verily believe, the true and only meaning of the writer of that letter in the OLD WHIG, in using those words, was ; that a firm and hearty union among *protestant dissenters*, would soon make their importance appear so considerable, as to secure a steady pursuit of *Whig* measures. But if he could prove that the OLD WHIG had a worse meaning, even such a one as he has put upon it, what is that to the *protestant dissenters* ? It is well known, that neither the OLD WHIG, nor Mr. P. nor any other writer, can ever spirit up that faithful and loyal part of his Majesty's subjects, either to plotting or rebellion. Nay, I'll boldly add, that I am persuaded that nothing less than very *considerable bribes* would ever be able to make any

of the true members of their community the tools of a party. But pray, Mr. P. is not that doctrine you have advanced in this paper, about *amputation* and *state medicines*, a much more accursed way of *threatning* his Majesty's leige subjects? You may justly henceforward be esteemed by all *lovers of liberty*, and of the *british* constitution, as a notorious and *publick incendiary*. I add, you might have been convinced by a little attention, that *Toryism* can never more breathe healthfully in *Britain*, except its air become very corrupt indeed by *growing luxury*, and a *general depravity* of manners.

I might yet have added, that your very conclusion has, by an unapt simile, damn'd your whole performance: You say,

“ BUT what is it that any dissenters can propose by making the *ministry* feel their weight, other than *Sampson*, who pulled down the temple of *Dagon* upon the heads of the lords of the *philistines*, and broke his own neck into the bargain?”

NOT to insist upon the villainy of the insinuation, as if any such thing was, or could ever be, intended; I shall just examine the comparison. *Sampson* had been the great *champion* of *Israel*, but was now under confinement; he is put by Mr. P. in the character and place of the *protestant dissenters*: The *Philistine lords*, making sport with this *favourite of heaven*, are by him

him likewise put in the character of the *ministy*; and the temple of *Dagon*, in the room of the *present establishment*: The destruction of *Dagon's temple*, and of the *Philistine lords* in consequence of *Sampson's* prayer, and by an extraordinary divine assistance afforded him, is put in the character or stead of the *protestant dissenters* overturning the *constitution*; and *Sampson's* breaking his own neck in the common destruction of the enemies of God's people, is put in the place of the *protestant dissenters* suffering in the *common ruin* of their country.— This puts me in mind of a late *Derbyshire* divine, who was wont to express his *gratitude* and *zeal* for his *patron*, by devoutly praying, that he might be like *Oreb* and *Zeeb*, like *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*: Psal. lxxxiii. 10, 11. I am,

S I R

Your humble Servant,

A PROTESTANT DISSENTER.

NUMB.

N U M B. LXI.

— facile omneis preferre ac pati,
Cum quibus erat cumque una, iis sese de-
dere,

Eorum obsequi studiis, advorsus nemini,
Nunquam præponens se aliis: ita facilli-
me

Sine invidia invenias laudem, & amicos
pares:

— namque hoc tempore
Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

TER. AND.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

I HIGHLY approve of the design of
an essay, in the *OLD WHIG*, for *the*
abolishing of thinking. But as the priest-
hood and politicians affect disguise, *mystery*
and equivocation, would it not have been
prudential to have proposed your scheme
with a little more ambiguity and reserve?
Mankind, who are naturally jealous of their
liberties, may be disturbed at so open a pro-
posal. If the clergy should *acquiesce* in it,
yet the laity may *profanely* take their words
in vain, and sound an alarm of danger. Tho'

VOL II.

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then

then you are in the main engaged in a very *heretical* paper, yet if you have that honour and honesty your character bespeaks you'll not refuse to give room to an *essay* in favour of *orthodox thinking*.

AN account of private affairs is, in many cases, of little consequence to the publick. However, it will be necessary for me to make some mention of my circumstances and education. After I had gone thro' my classical learning, without being a whit the wiser for it, I was sent to a famous university to finish my studies: as my parents designed me for a *clergyman*, I now devoted *some idle hours* to thinking and reading. Having spent some time in this situation, and being a little whimsical in my temper, I soon began arrogantly to imagine myself more knowing than my superiors. I was told of the danger and imprudence of my conduct; and my good old grandmother in particular, who had hardly any faculty unimpaired but that of speaking, gave me some wholesome rebukes, for pretending to more wisdom than those who had lived twice as long in the world. But all could not reclaim me. Being one day obstinately engaged in defending the *wrong side* of a *thesis*, viz. *That all men are fallible*, and that a *cassock may cover ignorance*; to my great mortification, I was soon after *rusticated* for it. But notwithstanding this disappointment, I had so *little grace*, that I was still determined to enter

enter into *holy orders*. To qualify myself for this, I got by heart a *set of Creeds*; and because I would be a proficient, instead of carefully perusing that *little book* called the *Bible*, I read over a whole library of *systematical divinity writers*; but still retained some notions which I then counted generous and honest. Upon my applying for a *license to practise* in holy mysteries, I found that I must *solemnly subscribe* to a great many things, which, notwithstanding my vast fund of knowledge, I could not in the least understand; and was told, I must be damn'd if I refused. I objected, that some of the things required appeared to me *unintelligible*, and others even *shocking* to my reason; but was informed *that very reason* should oblige me to believe them, and would render my faith highly *meritorious*. However, I absolutely refused to comply. Now I began *to feel* what it was to be damn'd. For some years I wanted bread, and was well nigh *starving*. Since that I have turned my thoughts to physick: But alas! now I see and lament my former folly and blindness. As I am not much acquainted with the *theory* of distempers, every impudent fellow takes upon him to contradict me; tells me to my face that a physician should understand the *mechanical structure* of human bodies, the differences of air, be able to describe the veins, arteries and tendons, and give some tolerable account of the circulation of the

G 2

fluids;

fluids ; and that if I could not do this, I practise upon an unphilosophical footing. Nay, more than once, *the authority* of a great * name has been made use of ; who says, that to such reasons it is owing, that some distempers triumph o'er physicians, as the *devil* doth over the *clergy*. See again the dismal consequences of youthful ignorance and my ill-fated rashness!

BUT to atone for former mistakes as far as I can, I would humbly recommend to the world a scheme for the establishment of *physical orthodoxy* ; and propose the great advantages of believing and subscribing, whatever our superiors require, without reluctance or exception ; and would hope that, with the patronage and assistance of some *great men*, my scheme may take place.

I would not urge any thing of this nature as to divinity, because my plan is there already pretty well established ; and if it were not, I can have no interest in promoting it at present. But as to physick, if it meets with success, it will be attended with many good effects. And,

IN the first place, it will take off the odium cast upon several, that belong to a large body of men, that they are only *quacks* and *empiricks*. If a prescription should be wrongly administered, or should fail of success,

* *Dr. Morgan's mechanical practice of physick.*

ungodly tongues will have no room to vent their raillery and scandal. And as to any particular *nostrums*, if they should ever happen to miscarry, we have nothing to do but father them upon *Hippocrates* or *Galen*; and then we are sure to maintain our credit, and have a handsome reward for killing our patients. Besides, these are writers fit only for such learned hands as ours, and we may safely *palms* upon the vulgar the recipes of *Culpepper* or *Salmon*, annexing their superior names without any danger of being found out or contradicted.

IF this scheme succeeds, there will be likewise no farther occasion for all the contemptible toil and *pedantry of learning*.—There will be no need of troubling ourselves about newfangled notions, when the old ones are popular and established. There is but little comfort in *filling our heads* with strange speculative doctrines, that are attended with *empty purses*. Whereas, if we have but good manners, and modesty enough *to swallow* down all things that are taught us, as we expect others to do our *pills*, without ever examining into them, we are sure to be in the right; and, which is more than we can always promise our patients, we are sure to live by it too.

BUT what would be still of more eminent service is, there would be no room left for every little pretender to be wiser than his betters. Whilst every man has a *liberty*

ty of judging according to his reason, as they call it, no man is safe in the possession of his own notions. We may as well be exposed to the ravages of an army of *Cossacks*, given up to merciless plunder, as trust our principles to go abroad amidst a barbarous race of *freethinkers*. What favour can we expect from such unmannerly coxcombs, that in the most *important* matters stop our mouths with saying, that a bare *ipse dixit* is not sufficient for their conviction? That they'll believe no man, merely because he rides in his chariot, keeps a black, wears a laced coat, or a plain one of a different make or colour from theirs? What they require, forsooth, is plain argument and demonstration. Now who can bear with such wicked insolence, such intolerable presumption as this? But if once a standard of *physical orthodoxy* becomes current, they would as well dare deviate from it, as remove their neighbours landmarks. In both cases alike the law is open against them; or if the notoriety of the crime will not admit of that, we are sure to have *the mob* on our side, who are friends of popularity, tho' magistracy be against us. A scheme so highly beneficial, needs nothing more than being rightly understood, in order to recommend it to the publick.

THERE are some *little objections* that will be made, that may appear plausible to inattentive or prejudiced readers. It will be said,

said, that men have as natural a right to *think freely*, as to breath freely ; and that any attempts to deprive them of either, would be equally *immoral* and cruel. But let it be observed, that our concern is not about *words* but *things*. So we can but establish the practice, we'll condescend to bear with men's infirmities, so far as to indulge them *the use of names*, whilst they proceed no further. Let it be told them, that there is *no design* upon their *liberty*; only *a necessary care* and circumspection to *guard* against *philosophical heresies* and errors.—This must be so far from *giving umbrage*, that it will procure *addresses of thanks*, and marks of favour from all who are *rightly affected*. Men *may think* for themselves as they please ; but it must be under some *proper restrictions*. They must think that all who wear a *distinguishing badge* of their office, wear *honest hearts*, and are *well qualified* for their practice. They must think, that every *rich man* must be *wise*, and every *courtier honest*: Especially as regarding ourselves, they must think as they are *directed*, and *not trust* to their own blind *understandings*, which *may err*, but to the judgments of those who *never do*, and if they are provoked to speak out, *never can*. They must allow that, if not persons of superior judgment and integrity, yet at least all *little dispensers of salutary poisons* are *lineally descended* from the first *fathers of physick*, and have their *license to*

practise entail'd upon them by the Gods. They must believe that *reason* and common sense is *not a * sufficient barrier* to such an establishment as I have proposed; that therefore there must be *penal laws* to give it a sanction; and that those who dispute the equity of such laws, are *promoting discord* and faction; and ought to bless God, and men in power, they *are not all hang'd*. Nay, how can they possibly discover a *greater openness* to conviction, than in embracing what every *Mountebank* asserts, as indisputable truth? And where is the mighty *restraint* they lie under in all this?

It will be further objected, that what we have been recommending *can't change* mens principles, and serves only to make them *hypocrites* and knaves. But this is a very trifle, when put in competition with the advantages that will attend the success of my project. 'Tis but reasonable to submit to *some lesser inconveniencies* for the sake of the *general good*. — What need we trouble ourselves *what men are*, so they do but *advance our interest* and authority? If we have *gain*, no matter what *craft* obtains it, or what *quarter* it comes from. Not to mention, that it would be *unmannerly*, and setting an *ill example*, to call in question their honesty, who never suspect ours; but obey our directions with *more than christian*

* See Daily Gazetteer, August 5.

N^o 61. *The OLD WHIG.* 105

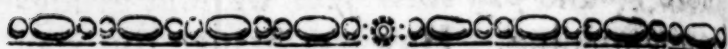
patience, and *pay their fees* without grudging or repining. However strange this way of talking may now appear; yet, when once these principles are *in fashion*, like many others of the same nature, they will be received with *applause*, and retain'd with *reverence*. To expose them will be accounted a *conspiracy* against our rights, and attacking and endangering *the very fundamentals* of our constitution. I would likewise offer *a form of subscription*, in order to exclude all *heterodox practitioners*; but it will be time enough to do that, when I find whether my scheme be likely to meet with due encouragement and success. I am,

S I R,

Your humble Servant,

O. I.

N U M B.



N U M B. LXII.

*Ecclesiastici viri non dogmatum custodiunt
veritatem, sed de suo corde confingunt;
magistrumque suam habent præsump-
tionem.*

TERT.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

TO rescue mankind from under the *bondage* of bigotry and superstition, is a task equally *difficult* and glorious. Considering mens various prejudices, interests and understandings, such a design, though it should not miscarry, is sure to meet with warm and weighty opposition. When men are guided by prepossession, the strongest arguments lose their force, and the clearest evidence must give way to the low and *stale scurrilities* of *Miscellanists*, and the advocates of *hierarchial orthodoxy* and power. But still all generous minds will, with a becoming pride, disdain those *little insults* they are conscious of not deserving; nor can it be any real disparagement to be *gravely abused* by those, whose esteem is at best but a *satyr* upon the principles of liberty, and whose approbation is infinitely
more

more *scandalous* than all their *common-place* invectives and reproaches.

ARM'D with these reflections, I beg leave to communicate to the publick * an other essay on the abuse of the words CHURCH and RELIGION. As my regards for our excellent episcopal *apostolical* constitution are friendly and sincere, they can't be better distinguished, than in shewing that those are the *worst enemies* to the church, who would *establish* its interest by *unrighteous claims*, and usurpations : the low arts of *consecrated juggling* and imposture !

'T IS a remark of Sir *Harry English's*, that it is owing to an *indelicate effeminacy*, and false politeness in the *Beau Monde*, that *French fashions* have obtain'd so much amongst us ; and that those who *fly* before us *in the field*, should be made the *heroes of dress* and gallantry. And doth it not betray equal *degeneracy* of taste in the *moral world*, implicity to *resign* our understandings, and make the notions of any set of *fallible men* the *infallible standards* of right and wrong ? The more pure and orthodox any church is, 'tis less necessary, nay more inexcusable, to make use of any unfair and sinister methods, to advance its credit and support its authority. — Among the abuses then to be guarded against, we may reckon that *absurd practice* of embracing any scheme

* See Old Whig, N^o 53.

or system, *merely* because it is established, and derives a sanction from the civil laws of the kingdom. This is to confound facts and falsehoods together ; to put the *mahometan* and *christian* upon the same footing : Nay, this method of forming a judgment will hold with equal propriety to prove the *divinity of broomsticks*, and the *orthodoxy* of the best of churches. It may be *good policy* to lay the foundation of creeds in *synodical dreams*, and acts of convocation ; because men may be at a loss to seek out for a better : But to suggest that truth and the church must needs *resign Empire*, were they not the *allies* of acts of parliament, is paying no great compliment to either. It is not more *unreasonable* to reject any doctrine, *merely* because it is established, than it would be to receive and fall in with all that are so, at random : However good a title *prescription*, antiquity and custom may make *in law*, their evidence is far from being determinative in *moral disquisitions* ; nay indeed their influence, join'd with power and authority, are very apt to lay a corrupt bias upon mens judgments. No argument is so *weighty*, as that which is *inforced* with *massy gold* ; and he must be an *heretick*, or an infidel, with a witness, who is not open to the *conviction* of some hundreds a year. Hence it is that a * noble writer, who was

* *Shaftsbury.*

never suspected of being an enemy to virtue, whatever he might be to the *imaginary character* of a tyrannical ambitious priesthood, observes with his usual, but inimitable, delicacy of stile and spirit, thus: ‘ If
 ‘ magistracy should vouchsafe to interpose
 ‘ thus much in other sciences, I am afraid
 ‘ we should have as bad logic, as bad mathematics, and in every kind as bad philosophy, as we often have divinity, in
 ‘ countries where a precise orthodoxy is settled by law.’ Corporations in trade and religious establishments, are neither of them calculated for the good of community, and the publick welfare of mankind. The one destroys all free liberal commerce, the other cramps mens understandings, and checks all free liberal inquiries into truth. How elegantly engaging did christianity appear, before the professors of it became intoxicated with the giddy claims of *church sovereignty* and power? But how different a scene opens to view, when *morality* is decry’d as a piece of *unenlightned heathenism*, and virtue put out of countenance by giving her hard names? When the only principles instilled into the minds of youth are to *tremble at the cassock* and the *rod*; when they are taught to mistake *shew* for *sanctity*, to adore the *beauty of holiness* in established *mysteries* and *gewgaws*, in external *trappings* and decorations, instead of the *majestick charms* of extensive usefulness and,
 bene-

benevolence; and once more, when those, who ought to be the guardians of our liberties, divest themselves of humanity in order to be religious, and cultivate themselves into *savages*, unconcerned as to every thing, but how to secure their prey? Such times have been; but at present all fears of this nature are idle, visionary and romantic; as we are bless'd with a learned and venerable clergy, *not more eminently distinguish'd* by their zeal for the publick-good, than by the dignity of their stations.

It must, indeed, be own'd, not to dissemble the truth, that there are now and then a few distempered minds, that, by a disorder very natural to hot and gross constitutions, still rave for such principles and such a spirit: but we need not be alarm'd at these; all they have said is equally conclusive with that *devout* Merry-Andrew's inference, who urg'd, *that Christ's church must be HIGH CHURCH, because it is built upon a Rock.*

ANOTHER abuse which every consistent protestant should discourage, is founding the authority of ecclesiasticks, upon the destruction of the rights of their fellow-subjects. When men turn the church into a stage, no wonder if they are hiss'd at for their folly. When those, who treat *natural rights* as *punctilio's*, and all sober regards for them as *fanaticism* or *enthusiastick reveries*, yet solemnly scold for the divine right of *tythe-*
pigs

pigs and *potatoes*; scoffers will be atheistically inclin'd to insinuate, that all this is only a *farce*, acted for the benefit of ignorance, avarice, and the corrupt part of the clergy. *Church right*, and church authority, are words, that have made a remarkable figure in *ecclesiastical heraldry*. Its government has been oft represented as *supreme*, and independent on the civil. But if we give credit to some of its profess'd advocates, (would it be complaisance to do it?) the progress of free thinking forebodes its overthrow and ruin. Penal-Laws, therefore, are wisely instituted as a *tax upon honesty*, to prevent its destructive and malignant growth: And (as these profound patriots seem to believe) the church can never be safe, till *lay-lands and learning* are in the *greatest extremity and danger*. Thus a little monosyllable, artfully tofs'd about, has filled mankind with a greater *pannick* than all the terrors of a standing army. What bloodshed and confusion have been occasioned, what settled animosities kindled amongst neighbours, by such an *hyperorthodox zeal* for the church and *maypoles*! But whatsoever design there may be in such a conduct, there is but little policy in the matter: nothing can derogate more from the credit of any interest, than endeavouring to found it upon the ruins of equity, benevolence, or good-nature. Must a man be excommunicated, or adjudged by law *to the devil*,
because

because he is *obstinately conscientious*, and dreads going thither? Or are there none who have *rights* to lose but the clergy? Are not *lay rights* as sacred, as inviolable, as theirs? Are not incroachments on a *layman's conscience*, as much sacrilege, as incroachments on an *ecclesiastick's tythes*? This must be allow'd, or weak minds will indulge very *unmannerly suspicions*: they'll be apt to suggest, that those with whom the guardianship of our religious liberties is peculiarly intrusted, are more concerned for the welfare and *salvation of priestcraft*, than for the welfare and salvation of mankind. Should this ever prove to be fact, the raillery of the honest *Quaker* would be as well fix'd as severe; who seeing his neighbour quarrelling with one that wore a white rose on the tenth of *June*, accosted him thus: Friend, friend, be easy, thou art mistaken in the matter; 'tis not the *white roses*, but the *black* that do all the mischief.

It is very true, as a * polite ingenious author observes, "Thinking men have been few in all ages." — They have been the *reputed hereticks* of the times they liv'd in; — and their influence but small, even in proportion to their number. It is generally an easy matter to impose upon mens credulity, and take advantage of the weak and blind side of human nature. But

* *Mr. FOSTER'S Sermons.*

it can't be expected affairs should always take the same turn, when sober and rational inquiries into things are not only tolerated, but recommended and encouraged. *Artful wheedling* of dying persons to *rob them* of their senses, and *their heirs* of their estates, must lose ground. The sanctions given to immorality, by giving dying men safe *passports to futurity*, will be abhorr'd, discountenanc'd, and discouraged; and those who think at all, will think that such *sanc-tified wickedness* can be calculated only with a view to make a trade of *teaching ignorance*, and putting out mens eyes.

DIFFERENCES in principle will always subsist in all communities; and why should we make *an idol of uniformity* in religious worship, when we may every day observe from the works of nature, that such a *dull uniformity* can be neither natural nor engaging: It's obvious, therefore, to conclude, that those who would establish these, or such like abuses, are engaged in a conspiracy against their kind benefactress, to whose beneficence they owe their all; they strike at the fundamental principles of the reformation; and (tho' perhaps not appriz'd of it) are *betraying* a tender mother into as cruel hands, as *Judas did his master, with a kiss*. I am,

S I R,

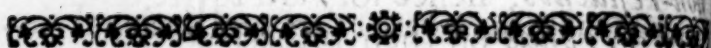
Your humble Servant,

LAICUS.

VOL II.

H

NUMB.



NUMB. LXIII.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

I HAVE with some attention and care read your papers, and am persuaded, that upon the whole, you appear to be in reality an OLD WHIG and a CONSISTENT PROTESANT; inasmuch as you discover an aversion to irrational and unjust principles both in *state* and *church*; and, if I mistake you not, your aim is to detect and expose those *evils* which disturb the peace, and are, in fact, the real bane of society; and, on the other hand, to recommend whatsoever may tend to its welfare. Hence I imagin'd I should appear to you as one engaged in the same cause, so far as the following lines may reach; and that, perhaps for this reason, you might give them a place in your paper.

ON *Tuesday* last as I was looking over the *publick papers*, I found a paragraph which told us, that the right rev. the b——p of S——y had in his last visitation obliged the clergy throughout his diocese to make a competent provision for their curates; and not only so, but had strictly injoin'd the

non-residents, hence forward to see to it that they do *reside* on their respective cures.

Now this, Sir, I think ought to be esteemed as an *action*, considered in itself, entirely agreeable to the maxims of a *Consistent Protestant*, and, as such, should be applauded by every *Old Whig* throughout the kingdom: Nay, methinks this sort of conduct must every where, as well as at any time, appear amiable, because founded on *reason* and *fitness*.

BUT I shall take a little more particular view of it, and endeavour to shew this *action* in its several attitudes; to the end, that those particular circumstances which attend it, may not be overlooked; but that every body may observe, upon how many accounts this instance of his L—p's conduct is justly to be admired. And in the first place,

HIS L—p, before he would take such a step, must be pretty well assured that *these things* were become great grievances in the church, and consequently must be fully convinced, that when they were driven to such an extremity, his *reform* would appear very conspicuous. And yet,

NOTWITHSTANDING the *evil* had become so universal, none had hitherto dared to shew that *christian resolution* of making an attempt to put a stop to it; therefore, his L—p's beginning this *reform* is the more heroic and laudable.

BUT *this* will appear yet more remarkable, if it be considered that perhaps not one of the right reverend b—ps has a more tender sense of the sacredness of *ecclesiastical customs* and *manners*, especially such as regard the *emoluments* and *immunities* of the clergy, than himself; and notwithstanding this, he resolved to give these enormities the *first shake*: To this purpose, champion-like, he entered the field alone, and boldly attacked this evil, and ventured the clamours of the *beneficed clergy*, without so much as perhaps one *second* to support his attack: What he had chiefly to confide in, was only a number of astonished, poor, honest *curates*, and their *families*, who could not but think themselves obliged to invoke *heaven* in his favour.

IT has, indeed, been rumoured, and possibly his L——p might know it to be true, that the government had ordered the *attorney* and *solicitor-general* to prepare a *BILL* for the relief of this unhappy part of the clergy; and therefore he wisely resolved to be before-hand with them, by shewing in his own diocese the reasonableness of such a design: To say the worst of which, it at least discovers a strong conviction of mind, and a true ingenuity of temper; inasmuch as it proves, if this should be the case, *that he chose to go without driving*.

BESIDES, in order to render the *action* virtuous, his L—p well knew it ought to be
matter

matter of choice ; but had he staid till the legislature had rendered it *unavoidable*, he must have been merely *passive* in the affair, and then such a *reform* would have had nothing *virtuous* in it, as far as his L—p would have been concerned in it as a b—p of a particular church, nor could he have been *rewardable* for it ; even no more, than a man can be said to be a rewardable being for his actions, upon the supposition of some certain DECREE having necessitated all his actions, and left him no power at all to alter them, or leave them undone.

It is possible his L—p might have a view of shewing the government the *practicableness* of the affair, by this his *reform* : and no doubt there will appear something very meritorious in *this* : for supposing that the *government*, or rather the *ministry*, should be afraid of taking any steps that would disoblige their good friends the *beneficed clergy* (who have so much of the hearts or affections of the *laity* in their own hands) he would by this experiment convince them, that as his *diocese* durst not murmur or rebel against their *diocesan*, so, if others, in other *dioceses* in the kingdom, should happen to resent it towards the ministry or government, it must be owing to the fault of their *principals*, their respective *b—ps* ; as not being so much devoted to the service of the government as himself,

or not so hearty in the cause of this *necessary reform*.

LET no man be so ill-natured as to conjecture, that his L——p intended by this *action* to insinuate, that it was the *only proper province* of the BISHOPS to redress these grievances; for this would be to impeach his L——p's skill in the *british constitution*: Since nothing is more notorious, than that the *provision* made for the *clergy*, is by the free bounty of the *state*; and that therefore *all abuses* of this bounty are most properly cognizable by the *national senate*.

MUCH less would I have any man imagine, that his L——p intended by this, *so* to influence the rest of the prelates, as to make it unnecessary to proceed to redress these grievances by law, and thus artfully, to divert the attention of the legislature: No; he must be well assured that things of this nature, left to the caprice of the governing part of the *clergy*, have never been esteemed to be put on any very secure foundation.

WHEN I reflect on this compassionate, tender, and truly fatherly care, which this worthy prelate is represented as having taken for the necessitous and oppressed clergy in his diocese, it gives me the more pleasure, because I cannot but regard it as a sure indication, that his L——p is at length come to a resolution to resign his M——r——p of the
T—r,

T—e, which he holds in *commendam*. Common fame has told us, that his l—p has been a pretty while halting between two opinions in this matter : sometimes inclined to resign, sometimes to hold fast. But by this *action* his L—p seems to have introduced a most seasonable *crisis* for this resignation. Neither the most importunate solicitations of the b—rs, nor any consideration of his particular convenience, will any longer weigh with him ; when he considers, as doubtless he must on this occasion, that now he has it in his power to set a shining *example* to such of the rich and the beneficed clergy of his diocese, who will be obliged to give up part of their *incomes*, to recompence their poorer brethren in a more suitable and equitable manner for their labours and services : An *example*, that will appear very conspicuous, if it be considered, that the M—r—p of the *T—e* is a much more considerable and comfortable benefice, than any one clergyman in his L—p's diocese will be obliged to part with, in order to make such a provision for his poor curate as all the world will think to be generous : and a very peculiar lustre it will add to this *example*, if we take into the account the *meanness* of the see of *S—y*, and the smallness of its income.

BUT to this, perhaps, it may be objected by some, that *S—y* is no inconsiderable see ; it produces near three thousand pounds a year ; and these objectors may perhaps be

of opinion with an *officer* belonging to the army, that a thousand pounds a year would be enough for a bishop: — But to these I might easily reply in the words of a *certain clergyman*, that if a bishop was to have but one thousand pounds a year, *he could not use hospitality.* —

THE answer of this clergyman was, no doubt, in his opinion, a plain *scripture consequence*; for St. *Paul* does in fact tell *Timothy* and *Titus*, that a bishop must be a *lover of hospitality*, and that this is one qualification of a bishop, *viz. That he must be given to hospitality.* — Now, Mr. O. W. if the opinion of this reverend clergyman be orthodox, *viz.* that one thousand pounds a year is not a sufficient qualification for a christian bishop's *using hospitality*; I should think myself very much obliged to you, Sir, if you would take the trouble of directing me to some *authority* proper to convince mankind, that there were any *christian bishops* in the apostles days; or, in other words, whether any of those who called themselves bishops, and were in high esteem as such, before the days of *Constantine*, were *qualified* to shew hospitality? — And if you would from those days come down to the present time, and examine into the *revenues* of our bishops, and should find that any among them are not qualified for *using hospitality*, how can you do a better office than to lay before us the *unreasonableness* and *impiety*

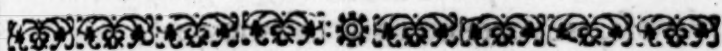
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piety of such disqualifications being continued so long in a christian country? I am,

S I R,

Middlesex,
Sept. 11, 1736. Your humble Servant,

PHILANTHROPUS.



N U M B. LXIV.

*Maximum hoc Regni bonum est,
Quod facta Domini cogitur Populus sui
Quam ferre, tam laudare.* S E N.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

IF there could be the least reason to fear any danger to our establishment from the increase of *superstition*, we might think your writings seasonable: for my Lord *Bacon's* observation is certainly just, that the danger of *superstition* is even greater than that of *atheism*. “ For (says he) *atheism* leaves
“ men to sense, to philosophy, to laws, to
“ reputation; all which may be guides to
“ moral virtue, tho’ religion were not; but
“ *superstition* dismounts all these, and erects
“ an

“ an absolute monarchy in the minds of
 “ men ; therefore,” saith this great author,
 “ *atheism* did never perturb states, but *su-*
 “ *perstition* hath been the occasion of the
 “ confusion of many.”

BUT what danger is there now of any increase of *superstition* ? “ The causes” (saith the same author) of *superstition*, are
 “ pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies,
 “ excess of pharisaical and outward holiness,
 “ reverence to traditions, and the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre.” Is any thing of this kind to be found amongst us ? I will challenge you to name any prelate of our excellent church, who can be so much as suspected of either ambition or avarice.

BUT you writers who pretend to espouse the principles of *liberty*, are always finding fault with something or other. I would advise you rather to lay aside that sourness of temper, which, let me tell you, seems to give too much countenance to that sneer of Mr. *Osborne* during his state of effeminacy, that the difference between the OLD WHIGS and the MODERN, was only their being *in* or *out of possession*, as he called it.

BE advised, follow the genius of the *times*, and turn your thoughts to *panegyric* ; rather give us encomiums on the bright and shining parts of our constitution, than carp at little defects which escape perhaps the best and most careful men.

THE excellency of our laws, *clear* and *concise*, intelligible to the *meanest* capacity, admirable even to the *wisest*, the *speedy* methods of justice, the protection our laws afford to the *lowest* against the oppression of the *greatest*, the certainty of judgments, obtained on such cheap and easy terms, are so great securities to our *property*, as surely might find any lover of liberty a copious theme for commendation.

BUT when we turn our eyes to the security these laws afford to *christianity*, by *creeds* and *rubricks*, and *articles* and *subscriptions*, and *tests*, and *canons* and *homilies*, and *penalties*, and *oaths*, and *declarations*, and *habits*, and *ceremonies*, and *penances*, and *dispensations*, and *excommunications*, and *commutations*, and *purgations*, and *ordinations*, and *suspensions*, and *deprivations*, and *collations*, and *translations*, and *installations*, and *commendams*, and *donations*, and *benefactions*, and *informations*, and *procurations*, and *offerings*, and *tythes*, and *synods*, and *mortuaries*, and innumerable other wise and effectual methods to lead men to *salvation*; surely here is a large field for praise! how must every christian rejoice to see the *rock* on which his church is built, so fortified! On every side fenced with such bulwarks and ramparts, and garrison'd with *bishops* and *deans*, *prebendaries* and *archdeacons*, *chancellors* and *chantors*, *canons*, *proctors* and *apparitors*, *lineal*
and

and *legal* successors of the apostles; powerful in preaching, mighty in works, pious in their lives, uncorrupted, undefiled in the faith, meek in spirit, laborious in ministering, contemners of the things of this world, humble, obedient to princes, not contentious for vain opinions which edify not; so temperate, so chaste, so merciful, so worn out with watchings, fastings and prayer!

SHALL these, all these, be overlook'd, and a silly *picture* in *Clerkenwell church* be taken notice of? I fear, my old friend, this favours too much of the gall of bitterness.

REMEMBER that, as lord *Bacon* says, there is a *superstition even in avoiding superstition*. What if pictures should be once more placed over all the altars in *London*, for the encouragement of *painting* and *piety*, how would our excellent establishment be prejudiced? What can a *picture* do? Can it be an *impropriator*, or can it hold *church lands*, or can it plead a *modus* in bar of *tyths*, or can it make a *layman's sermon*, or can it write against *hierarchical* powers? For my part, so long as no picture can be placed in any church, but such as are allowed by the *spiritual jurisdiction*, I can't see what ill consequence can possibly be apprehended. However, if it shall be thought reasonable, to avoid giving offence to weak and scrupulous people, to add some declaration in some part of our prayer-book, that tho' pictures

pictures are placed there for decency and order, and tho' the people may be apt to turn their faces that way when they kneel at church, yet, *lest the same kneeling should by any persons, either out of ignorance or infirmity, or out of malice and obstinacy, be misconstrued or depraved; it is therefore declared, that no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, to the picture, for that were idolatry to be abhorred by all faithful christians:* Or if it should be enacted, for a farther security of our church against all her enemies, whether papists or enthusiasts, that the *painter* should be obliged to take the *sacramental test*, and the *colour-man* subscribe the *thirty-nine articles*, I shall not oppose it; nor indeed, would I be understood to say any thing in dispraise of any caution which our church may be pleased to make use of hereafter for its still greater safety.

BUT I can't think it decent for any *lawyer* to pretend to interpose in matters of this nature; since we are told by no less an authority, than the author of the famous *Codex*, "That the church knows best what laws she has occasion for, and that our good queen *Elizabeth* would not suffer even her parliaments to meddle with any matters which concerned religion, except they were first propounded to them by the clergy."

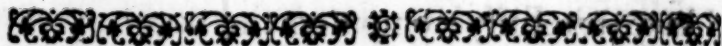
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IF you leave, therefore, your useless cavils, and your unprofitable censures, it may be for your good ; if you go on, you can do us no harm : I set before you good and evil, choose which you like best : But as for me and my house, we will serve *the times*.

I am,

Tours, as you shall behave,

A MODERN WHIG.



N U M B L X V .

*Aude aliquid brevibus gyaris et carcere
dignum,*

Si vis —————

JUV.

I HAVE observed, in the several answers to a celebrated performance, entitled, *A Plain Account, &c. of the Sacrament*, great marks of indignation and resentment ; and amongst other reasons, particularly for this : That the author of the said treatise is supposed, not to have made *that kind and degree of preparation* necessary to receive this sacrament, which the divines of our church have generally *prescribed* and recommended. Our right reverend and *truly pious*
Diocesan

Diocesan, hath in his *little* treatise on this subject, spent *fifty-three* pages particularly, upon the *particular preparations* for the holy sacrament; and says: That *this being the highest and most solemn institution of the christian religion, and being also a work of a holy and heavenly nature, the heart must be withdrawn from the thoughts and business of the world, and put into an holy and heavenly frame, suitable to the business it is to be employed about.* And the more effectually to bring the heart into this holy and heavenly frame, he hath laid down, I have carefully computed the number, *one hundred sixty-nine heads of examination*; and advises those he writesto, that where they find themselves guilty upon any head, they should *carefully remember it, either by a short hint in writing, or by some mark in the margin of their book*, that having gone through all the heads of examination, they may be able to make a distinct confession of their sins. So that in his Lordship's opinion, the preparation that is necessary for the sacrament, is to go through all the *one hundred sixty-nine heads* of examination, and to hint our omissions and commissions by *writing, or some mark in the margin of our examination book.*

THESE heads of examination, are, I presume, intended for the laity, because I do not find any of them suitably adapted to the *particular circumstances* of the reverend clergy,

clergy, and because one of the queries which he instructs the parishioners of *Lambeth* to put to themselves, and concerning which to *adjure their hearts to be honest and impartial, as they will answer it before the great searcher and judge of them at the last day*, is this : *Do I regard MY SPIRITUAL PASTOR, AS AN AMBASSADOR AND MESSENGER FROM GOD, AND SET OVER ME BY HIS APPOINTMENT?* My lord of *London* was then PASTOR of *Lambeth*, and drew up this treatise for the *use of the inhabitants* of it ; and he thought it necessary to their *due preparation* for the holy sacrament, that they should, as in the presence of God, examine themselves : *Do I regard my spiritual pastor, AS AN AMBASSADOR and messenger FROM GOD, and set over me by his appointment ?* And as I cannot suppose, that the then pastor of *Lambeth* imagined himself *the only parish ambassador* and messenger appointed by God in this kingdom, I imagine that every parish pastor in the kingdom was, in the pastor of *Lambeth's* opinion, *equally an ambassador*, and messenger from God, set over his parish by divine appointment.

I cannot here but congratulate my dear country on this *high honour* and great felicity. Thrice happy *England*, O that I could congratulate the *Northern* part of this island upon the same happiness, who hast *thy thousand and ten thousand ambassadors* from God!

Not

Not one parish within thy *fortunate territories*, without an *heavenly messenger* set over it by divine appointment! Nor must I forget thy venerable bulwarks and enclosures, *O Newgate!* who art also thus highly favoured, and hast *thy peculiar ambassador*, with all spiritual powers and prerogatives attending him, to scatter the fears, and comfort the souls of thy prisoners, and send them with the sacrament and a song in their mouths, *safe and joyful*, to the regions of immortality!

WITNESS ye monthly memoirs of our truly reverend ordinary! How *edifying his accounts* of our *Tyburn saints* and confessors! One acknowledges his whole life to have been a scene of complicated villainy. Another owns his thefts, and robberies, and rapes. A third stands convicted of sacrilege and murder. All the crimes of human nature stand here collected, and a single year furnishes in succession a finished villain in every kind of wickedness. Civil society, indeed, treats them as *outcasts*, and cuts them off as *monsters* in their kind, and the plagues and curses of the community. But our *Newgate ambassador* treats them with much greater tenderness. So extensive, so unbounded is his charity, and such *his hope against* the very possibility of *hope*, that he embraces them as brethren, and with *pious hands* puts into their mouths the body and blood of his crucified Lord; that ha-

ving thus received the holy *viaticum*, they may be declared members of our established church, and take their *Tyburn swing* with greater decency and safety.

BUT I must do justice to other places. 'Tis not *Newgate* only that hath her villains, and her *sacraments for villains*. There are other *dens of thieves*, that have their *ambassadors* and communions too. 'Tis a very *instructive* article that was given us lately from *Bristol*, in the *Daily Advertiser* of *Sept. 7*, last past, concerning one *Harding*, a notorious malefactor, lately hanged there. — *Harding behaved very unconcerned, charging his wife with being the chief inlet to his misfortunes, and even CURSED her just before he received the sacrament that morning.* And did he then receive the sacrament? What, tho' unconcerned for all his villainies, and even with curses in his mouth! What, without repentance and without charity? What then must be the charity of that divine ambassador, that could consecrate the sacred elements for so profligate and abandoned a criminal, and put them into his mouth, and tell him: *The body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given and shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Take and eat and drink this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving!* How high and reverend must
his

his sentiments be of this holy ordinance, that could even administer it to an unconcerned villain, even with curses in his mouth!

It will, I believe, be allowed by all men, that these kind of *jail-bird sacraments* and *Newgate* communions are of a very extraordinary kind, and that they argue great circumspection and tender care of souls, in our right reverend diocesans, in appointing particular ambassadors for solemnizing these sacred mysteries, and initiating sinners of every class into them, to support them under the apprehensions of an infamous death; if they are indeed appointed by our diocesans.

OR if these kind of ambassadors are exempt from the episcopal jurisdiction, their continuing to consecrate such sacraments will be thought a proof of the *goodness of our ecclesiastical constitution*, and of the strictness of our *church discipline*, in thus tying up the hands of our bishops, and preventing them from hindering such celebrations of these holy mysteries; should any of them be disposed to do it, out of a *superstitious* imagination, that they are impious and *scandalous abuses* of the sacrament.

'Tis evident, that by this means our happy establishment is *strengthened*, as we have hereby a *monthly addition* of *worthy* members to our communion. I can scarce say, indeed, that they have *lived members* of our church; but however, 'tis something,

that we can boast of the *honour* that they generally *dye such*. The ordinary receives and owns them as such, and they themselves declare that they die in our communion; and could they have the good fortune to escape the string, I doubt not but they would prove as worthy members as many of our *qualifying communicants* do.

THE dignity of our ambassadors is also hereby greatly advanced. How *affecting* a sight must it be, and what an holy veneration must it create in the soul, to see one of these divine messengers, standing in his *robes of ceremony*, at Newgate's *high altar*, distributing the *bread of God*, and the blood of Christ, to *whores and rogues, thieves and cut-throats*, after a sentence of deserved condemnation; kindly receiving them as fellow-disciples, and piously endeavouring to comfort them, by tender assurances that *Christ died for them*, and affectionately exhorting them *to feed by faith upon him*! How truly sacred must one esteem the man associating as a christian with the worst of criminals in chains and fetters; and how reverence that power which resides in him, of making them the members of the church of Christ, and then constituting them members of the church of *England*!

THIS practice also doth as truly add to the *dignity of the holy ordinance*, and is the strongest confirmation, that those who consecrate

secrate these *Newgate sacraments*, and those who appoint them to make such consecrations, do not only in words declare, but in their very hearts believe, that *this is the highest and most solemn institution of the christian religion*. For tho' some may be weak enough to think, that the administering the sacrament to such persons is taking the *childrens bread and casting it to the dogs*; yet I am rather apt to think this practice proceeds from an opinion, that the giving them the sacrament *converts these dogs into children*, and hath a *sovereign efficacy* to wash away all their guilt, and is, when administered by a *truly commission'd ambassador*, a *passport* sure and safe into the kingdom of heaven. Upon all other principles such sacraments must be instances of *great wickedness and impiety*; and if the sacrament hath such a wonderful *crime-purging, sinner-converting, soul-saving* efficacy, as the communicants unquestionably flatter themselves it hath, it must be allowed to be, of all *wonderful things* in the world, the *most wonderful*.

FINALLY, by this custom *great benefit* and advantage must accrue to *the civil society*, as well as strength and ornament to our church, and great consolation to the poor souls themselves. For I know no more probable way of *encreasing the number* of house-breakers, street-robbers, highwaymen, and other traders in vice, than this

of *sacramenting* of them just before they are to be hanged. For it hath plainly this effect: It *hardens them against the fears of death*, and takes off the *terrors of another world*. For if saying they are penitent, when they know they are to be hanged, and in charity with all men when they can violate the laws of God and man no longer, be *sufficient to entitle them* to the sacrament; and if the sacrament, as they generally hope, will secure them mercy and safety from future punishment, 'tis evident that such persuasions must be very great encouragements to a perseverance in their villainies; since they know they have an ambassador that will give them a sacrament, and thereby prepare them for death, when they are condemned as unfit to live any longer. And whether this may not be one *principal reason* amongst many others of the great number of villainies that are daily practised amongst us, I leave to the consideration of those, who have the guardianship of our publick peace, and who are, I doubt not by inclination, as well as duty, led to take the most effectual methods they can to secure it.



N U M B. LXVI.

*So when a sturdy plowman with his hind,
By strength have overthrown a stubborn
steer;*

*They down him hold, and fast with cords
do bind,*

'Till they him force the buxom yoke to bear.

SPENCER.

DURING the simplicity of the first ages, we find the messages of princes convey'd by heralds, who always spoke the very words dictated to them; from which veracity they grew to be esteem'd as sacred.

BUT as mankind enlarged, and commerce and treaty-making became fashionable, ambassadors were found more useful, who varied their address according to the fashion of the court they went to.

THE *Argonauts*, the first ambassadors we read of among the *Greeks*, appear to have been the cleverest young fellows of the age they lived in; and, as in those times the ladies had great interest in the courts of princes, we find an *Ariadne*, or a *Medea*, continually crowning their labours with success.

IN *Gothick* times the gravest and sedatest men were chose for this employment, whose great sagacity spun out a treaty to so great

a length it seldom came to a conclusion; which brought their reputation to so low an ebb, that *Philip de Comines* advises only to use them as a kind of legal spies, but not to trust them in any weighty matter.

IT is the honour of the age we live in to see this illustrious office restored to its full lustre: We have the happiness to see almost every ambassador produce a treaty from the sun's rising in *Kouli Kan's* dominions, to the pacifick territories of *Tomo Kachi*.

BUT whilst our earthly ambassadors enjoy this plenitude of glory, how lamentable is it to see our heavenly ones continually treated with contempt; so that his *excellency* no sooner claims the rank due to his character, which, as we have been lately told, even preceeds the angels *; but some witling infidel treats him with that queer kind of respect which they would use to an itinerant physician, who should produce credentials from *Prester John*, or the old man of the mountains.

THE doctrine, therefore, which I have lately mentioned, as coming from the reverend pastor of *Lambeth*, is by no means to be treated ludicrously, but is as necessary to be inculcated as 'tis easy to be demonstrated, *viz.*

“ THAT every minister of a parish is
“ a messenger from God set over his pa-

* Betty's sermon.

"*rishoners by divine appointment :*" And the direction, *that every man before he comes to the sacrament, must put it to his conscience whether he doth thus regard his spiritual pastor as an ambassador and messenger from God set over him by divine appointment, and that he should adjure his heart to be impartial ; and if he should find himself guilty on this head, in not regarding his spiritual pastor as an ambassador and messenger of God, set over him by his appointment, that he should make a distinct confession of it before God, and enter his vow and resolution against it.*

THAT this doctrine is necessary to be inculcated is plain, since every puny infidel now pretends to dispute their mission, and claims a right to examine their credentials, as if they had the sagacity which *Esop* attributes to dogs of smelling out their en-voys.

BUT since this duty now is made a part of that most solemn ordinance, no doubt but it must make a proper impression on us all ; and the good effects it will produce, will certainly be a great satisfaction to the reverend *clergy*, as well as greatly beneficial to the *laity*.

WHAT condescension may we not expect from their *excellencies*, what indulgencies to our lesser failings, provided we be but exact in performing this necessary duty ! The neglect of which has justly drawn on
us

us the dreadful effects of their displeasure. I remember a particular instance of this kind in the county of *Lincoln*; where, for a gentleman's neglect of this great duty, a messenger of God pronounced on him this dreadful sentence, Sir, I retain your sins; and I fear he yet remains in that deplorable condition, for I have not heard of his having got them loosed by his penitence.

Now when this doctrine is thoroughly established, as all inconveniencies of this kind will be prevented, so great benefits will arise in every stage of life.

IN our education in those two excellent nurseries of sound learning, the two universities, we shall find almost every fellow of a college, and every pupil-monger, invested with the sacred character, either lord ambassador, or at least envoy extraordinary: These will not only instruct us from the pulpit, or in our studies, but will mix with our pleasures when the mind is most soften'd and susceptible of impressions. When a hunting, or at bowls, at the tavern, or places of the greatest temptation, we shall have the messengers of God, like *Tobit's* angel, to guard us from all ill, and to inculcate proper doctrine; and if perchance we fall into any sin, a *Plenipo* with full powers is ready to absolve us on the proper terms.

BUT that the good effects produced by this method of education may be universal, 'tis necessary the ages of these kind of en-

voys

boys be nearly the same with that of their pupils; for which a quick succession in their fellowships is greatly to be hoped for, and probably will be effected, when a sufficient number of advowsons shall for that use be purchased.

NOR do our ambassadors, when they have finished us in learning, leave us desolate in a bad world, but still attend to teach us justice in paying our just dues, especially to heaven, which they still take the trouble carefully to collect; nor would they have us short in liberality, or offerings, or charities, well deposited in their most faithful keeping; nor need we fear his *excellency* will forsake us even in the latest hours of life, but still be ready to make treaties of peace with heaven, or of commerce, as occasion serves.

A doctrine so agreeable, so beneficial, so comfortable, as obedience to their *excellencies*, needs, sure, small proof to make it universally received; but as 'tis the civillest and safest side of the question, should meet with a ready assent, and every one should say with the wise heathen, "If in this I err, I err willingly."

BUT our infidel must have demonstration, his mighty objections must be answered; what evidence, says he, have we of this? Where are these credentials? Christ, indeed, sent his apostles, and gave them miracles for proof of their commission: And yet

yet he set not even these messengers to lord it over his church ; but sent them to call men to repentance, and preach his doctrine, not to take tyths of mens estates. But who sent these men? What message have they to us? Have they the bible? So have we: Have they any thing else? What is it? Where had they it? Whence shall we know it to be of God? Can they do miracles? What do they mean by messengers set over us? What mean so many messengers on the same errand? Are they to do any thing or nothing? Does God send these messengers himself, or does somebody else choose messengers for him? How comes a messenger to be set over a parish, and trusted with the care of it, which none of the parishioners would trust with a pot of beer, or the money to purchase it?

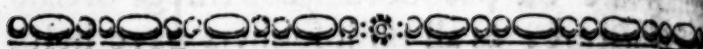
To all this, and all else these poor wretches can say, I answer: 'Tis true, miracles are not common in these days, because of our infidelity; but that we may find that their *excellencies* every day do very extraordinary things: and that so soon as that respect which the *right reverend pastor* demands for the clergy, becomes universal, we shall be assured that miracles are not ceased; that the message is, indeed, the same to all; but must be explained to us by messengers set over us, who give each a different sense of it as occasion serves. That the meanness of the messenger is no objection, since the best things

things are oft produced from things of the basest nature; as all philosophers have held, who seek the famous stone; whence men of the most unfavoury occupation, obtain the name of *Goldfinders*.

BUT as I know these infidels will never be convinced, 'tis in vain to spend more time upon them. I will, nevertheless, for the sake of the orthodox, give a clear and easy demonstration of the truth of this doctrine, which I am sure will be satisfactory to them; 'tis not of my own invention, but as old as *Stephen's* grant of tyths, which is to this effect: Forasmuch as we have heard, and they have preached every where, that giving alms to them is profitable to the soul, therefore being willing to share with them that deal in that heavenly kind of merchandize, we grant them the tyth of this kingdom.

THIS argument applied in the present case, runs thus: Forasmuch as all men have heard, and they have preached every where, that they are ambassadors from heaven, and messengers set over us, and we ought to respect them accordingly, if you do not shew them the respect they require (as *Shakespear* says in his comedy, call'd, *As you like it*) you want good manners; now if you have no good manners, your manners are wicked; and if your manners are wicked, you are damn'd: at least, as he says, *like an ill-roasted egg, all on one side.*

N U M B.



N U M B. LXVII.

Præceptum — in omnibus omnium episcoporum aulis vel aureis litteris oportebat inscribi — Non Dominantes more regum, sed exemplo pascite, benefactis vincite. Nunc episcoporum Vulgus nihil audit ab assentatoribus doctis nisi Dominia, Ditiones, Gladios, Claves, Potestates. Atque hinc fastus quorundam plusquam Regius, sævitia plusquam Tyrannica.

ERASMUS.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

OUR modern zealots, and sticklers for the power of the church, are apt to talk a great deal of an *uninterrupted succession* from the apostles: but this being, at best, a very *latent* and *mysterious* claim, calculated only to astonish and confound the superstitious and grossly ignorant, had much better be intirely dropped, in this confident and enquiring age. On the contrary, if it was fit for them to be ingenuous, and openly confess the *truth*, they might, with an unexceptionable propriety, and a *clear title*, stile themselves the *successors* of the old

old *Jewish* priests and doctors, who conceived of the government and reign of the Messiah in *their own way*, i. e. as a temporal dominion exercised with visible splendor and magnificence, in which this great king intended to distinguish his *favourite officers* by high dignities, and ensigns of worldly grandeur.

THE only misfortune is, that this orthodox *high-church* divinity (both among *Jews* and *Christians*) is directly repugnant to the express doctrine of Christ himself, who informs us, that his *kingdom is not of this world*; or, in other words, that it is an inward invisible dominion; an empire of *reason*, not of *shew* and *pageantry*; and the effects of which were not to appear in outward ornaments, and the delusive glare of *courts*, and *palaces*, and superfluous *pomp*, but in controuling the passions, and purifying the conscience, and reducing mankind, from all wrong pursuits, to the true and only principles of substantial dignity and happiness.

IT is, indeed, most evident from the whole strain and tenour of the new testament, that christianity is so far from marking out a path to *temporal* greatness for its most eminent and zealous votaries; so far from directing those, who are most serviceable to its cause and interest, to aspire after *high titles*, and the outward marks of authority and *secular jurisdiction*; nay, so far from giving
even

even the least and most distant encouragement to a vain and elated mind; that seems to have been particularly design'd to extirpate the very principles and seeds of *high-mindedness* and *ambition*, and check all its irregular and restless efforts. It therefore strongly represents *wealth*, and *power*, and *luxury*, with the passions and corrupt dispositions which they usually produce, as having a tendency to subvert, or at least to weaken, God's moral rule and empire over mankind; and as *base adulterate* mixtures, that are quite foreign from the true nature and genius of the gospel dispensation, and not connected by the most *remote consequence* with any of its primitive and essential principles. And, which is much stronger to the point, we farther find, that our Saviour has given his absolute and final sentence upon this very case, to be a standing rule of judgment throughout all succeeding ages of the church. For when the mother of *James* and *John*, from the fond and universally prevailing conceit of his *temporal* reign, requested of him very importunately, that her *two sons* might sit, *the one on his right hand, and the other on the left, in his kingdom*; he first declared, that the preferments they so earnestly sought after were *not* his to give, that he was not commission'd to bestow them *arbitrarily*, as earthly princes generally grant their favours; but that they would be conferred on

those

those for whom they were prepared, on those for whom they were appointed and determined by the infinite wisdom of God, as having the truest and justest claim to them on account of their *personal worth* and services: and then he tells them farther, that they all proceeded on wrong grounds, and that the expectations with which they had amused themselves were wholly built on error and prejudice. For tho' the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them, yet it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great — whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant: Even as the son of man counted his principal distinction and glory not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many. The same divine teacher cautioned the apostles themselves, not to receive *authoritative* and *flattering* titles from the most inferior christians; because all, as *christians*, are in point of real dominion upon a *level*, whatever difference nature and providence may have made between them with respect to abilities, influence, and outward advantages. — *Be not ye called Rabbi*, for this reason which is universal, and shews that the exhortation must extend to *all* without exception, because *one is your master*, even Christ, and *all ye are brethren*. And call no man your FATHER upon earth; for one is your

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father which is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters; for one is your master, even Christ.

THE gospel, indeed, has left us in possession of all our *natural rights* and *claims* as men, or good members of society; and whatever honours are paid us by our fellow-creatures, or conferred upon us by the wisdom of civil government, on account of our merit and public services, the religion we profess does no way oblige us to decline. Nor can any rational religion constitute an obligation of this kind; because reason, and gratitude, and a regard to the public welfare, all strongly excite to the conferring such honours. But there is a wide difference betwixt a person's *not declining* — and his *eagerly pursuing* and *grasping at* honours — between his claiming the proper reward due to his usefulness, and the advantage he is to the community, and claiming *merely as a christian*. — For he may lawfully enjoy, *notwithstanding* his being a christian, what he cannot justly pretend to *merely from his character* as a christian. And it has been fully prov'd, that all such pretensions, upon this foot only, are presumptuous and arrogant, and utterly unbecoming the *christian* name and profession.

WE read, it must be owned, of some *the kingdom of heaven, i. e.* under the administration of the *Messiah*, who will be constituted *RULERS over many things*. —

But *where* is the seat of government? And *when* is this dignity and authority to be conferred? Not, as the parable directly asserts, till the judge of all *returns* to *reckon* with his servants, *i. e.* at the final and general retribution. So that it is a reward to be enjoy'd *hereafter*, and has no relation to, or connection with, vast *temporal revenues*, and *present grandeur*. And it appears, upon the whole, that they are the most *distinguished* in the kingdom of Christ, or considered only as his disciples, who are most beneficent and faithful in their stations; that no honours are annex'd to *names*, and external privileges; but all confined to improvements and eminency in integrity and goodness; and that the *chief title* christianity allows us to aspire to, is that of a humble virtue, which corrects all the excesses of inordinate passion, and is a generous benefactor to mankind.

—How beautiful now is this scheme, which the gospel exhibits and sets before us! Nay, how necessary must it appear to every one who is acquainted with human nature, that in a doctrine, intended to advance the true dignity and perfection of reasonable beings, *worldly ambition* should be discountenanced and restrain'd, and religion and temporal grandeur be kept at *their due distance* from each other? *Pomp* and *power*, instead of being in themselves subservient to the great purposes of religion, manifestly tend to the

corruption of it. And of this, the history of the christian church affords most melancholy and abundant demonstration. For while the professors and *preachers* of christianity continued in humble circumstances, their *temper* resembled their condition. Their virtues were amiable and venerable. Their benevolence was exemplary and divine. — *Then* it was that the heathen world admired and said, *see how the christians love one another!* — But in proportion as *power* was pretended to, *animosity* and *disunion* prevailed. And when by the *well-meant*, but unquestionably *superstitious*, zeal of the first christian emperors, *princely* revenues were allotted to the church, and the ministers of Christ became distinguished in *courts*, they grew *fawning* to monarchs, and *factions* among themselves; and engaged the too indolent and devoted *laity* in their arbitrary and violent dissensions. — And having tasted *the sweets* of dominion and greatness, they aim'd, at last, at an *independent authority*; by which christianity has been infinitely dishonoured, and the foundations of civil government have been undermined.

I am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

NUMB.

N U M B. LXVIII.

*Quid juvat hoc, templis nostros inducere
mores?*

*O curvæ in terras animæ, & cælestium
inanes!* PERS.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

IT is a melancholy consideration, that while a great part of mankind are miserably carried away by their unreasonable passions and appetites, into the practice of vice; there should be a set of men, who, thro' ignorant superstition, or wicked affectation of dominion and riches, make a false pretence to religion, and exert a fiery zeal for some received opinions that seem to support their absurd claims of power, and their ungodly gain; to the perversion of all just notions of truth and right, religion and virtue.

THESE men, by calling evil good, and light darkness, under a shew of sanctity or legal devotion, draw after them a multitude of ignorant well-meaning bigots, who dare not think; and therefore have a zeal without knowledge; and cunningly aim at providing

viding for themselves a *better* security by a right orthodox faith, than can possibly be got by the mere practice of virtue. Hence many an honest mind is taken off from its best pursuits, in the plain road of truth and virtue; and employ'd about subjects neither useful nor intelligible: And thus the ignorant disciple is left a prey to his own and other mens lusts, for want of that knowledge and faith which he has neglected; or made a tool of ambition and avarice, against the reason of things, and the nature of all virtue and true religion. Hence the interests of vice and corruption in the world are strengthen'd by numbers of innocent people, who, if they were not deluded by the craft and hypocrisy of these sanctify'd worldlings, would have served the cause of virtue in their several capacities.

I was led into this reflection by a late scandalous performance, entitled, *Some Proposals for the Revival of Christianity*, &c. None of our reverend clergy have yet thought it worth their while to take any notice of this notable piece. I would not willingly infer from thence that they approve of the religion it recommends, or imagine the design can any ways serve the cause they so heartily wish prosperity to. This would reflect too hardly on their understandings or honesty: But one cannot help being concerned that so shameful an effort against all religion and virtue should pass unregarded in

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in a *christian protestant* church and nation. I will not presume to name the author, tho' common report generally agrees; and I dare say he is himself far from being ashamed to own it; because he has since published a like prophane abuse of an author and design that all good men owe the highest thanks to; and chosen to appear in the character of the author of this other piece.* A facetious irreverend divine, that makes no pretensions to faith or morals, may very consistently vent his wit in filthy, saucy, or prophane compositions. The careless and wicked will laugh; and it will have very little ill influence: But for such a one to put on the face of zeal for religion and the church, is impudent grimace, an affront upon common sense, and shocking to virtue. It is *too* open a profession of priestcraft and irreligion to be endured; should be abhorred by all good men; and especially discarded by churchmen; lest they also be suspected of favouring, or conniving at, so fatal a scheme for the sake of power and gain.

I would give you, Sir, my reflections upon the whole, if it were not too tedious and disagreeable to dwell upon such a subject: But I'll faithfully put the design in a short and plain light, both to justify what I have said, and to strip the author of his colour-

* See *A Vindication of the bishop of Winchester, &c.* By the author of *Some Proposals, &c.*

ings and pretence to christianity, which makes up the whole strength of his deceit, and can alone mislead any reader.

THIS author, to give him his due, does not presume to plead for *virtue* or *real christianity*; but under pretence of defending a *legal* religion or *established* church, would endeavour to ridicule some principles of *reason* and *liberty*, which he fears do prevail, by representing them as *weak* and *licentious*. You shall judge of the honesty of his design, when I have given you, in plain language, a few of the maxims he avows and insinuates; and set before you the real scheme he would establish, in opposition to that which he outrageously condemns for folly and irreligion. As our author writes with freedom, though not without art and disguise; I shall not confine myself to literal quotations, but taking the *reverse* of what he *ridicules* for his *real* sentiments, I shall fairly tell you what, I think, he means, under all the masks he puts on.

HIS maxims are such as these: *That temptations of pleasure annex'd to right belief and action, is the way to promote virtue.* This is plainly the only way by which the devil himself *can* promote vice. Again, *one man's reason or judgment may well be a rule for another man's actions.* This is only absurdity and Hobbism. Again, *when men are once brought to believe right, they will certainly act right.* This utterly destroys

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destroys *agency and morality* too; and proves the devil a saint at once. Again, *persecution and state pomp become the true religion, and that only.* That is, true religion ought to be establish'd. I'll mention but one more admirable maxim, which is, that *liberty and toleration are most destructive of truth, and advantageous to falshood.* This is fairly asserting that there is more evidence of falshood than of truth. You will hardly imagine that any man can espouse such principles, nor easily guess what ends they can serve. But these are, I verily think, articles of our author's faith; and here follows a very suitable religion, which he would establish.

“ LET profession and hypocrify be ad-
 “ mitted for obedience : Let the gain and
 “ power of the clergy be the foundation of
 “ religion : Destroy civil rights to secure
 “ the church : Let religion be rather en-
 “ vy'd than respected : All knowledge is
 “ needless ; submission is better : Abstain
 “ from common sense and reason, lest it in-
 “ troduce thinking and choosing about re-
 “ ligion : Promote the faith by any means,
 “ even by subtilty or fraud : Indulge the
 “ ambition and corruption of the clergy,
 “ lest true religion creep in : Vex and a-
 “ buse the laity, and make religion dear :
 “ If the clergy are but learned, rich and la-
 “ zy, sense and virtue are not worth mind-
 “ ing : Multiply comments, creeds and ar-
 “ ticles,

“ ticles, lest christianity grow too pure and
 “ intelligible : Doctors and theologists are
 “ the life and spirit of religion : Let there be
 “ guides and directors of the very thoughts;
 “ and suffer not different ways of thinking;
 “ it tends to error and heresy : Fix down
 “ scripture to one sense, that there may be
 “ no room for the exercise of reason : Let
 “ there be a civil head of the church, a
 “ monarch in religion and a spiritual king;
 “ and no tolerance to private judgment :
 “ Let religion be enacted, and peace and
 “ obedience be admitted for devotion.”

Is not this a glorious scheme? I could
 add many more excellent rules from our au-
 thor's sketch : But these are surely sufficient
 to shew the spirit of it. Is not this an ad-
 mirable religion, to be established upon the
 ruins of liberty and common sense ? These
 are the men, and these the Principles that
 often lurk under robes of sanctity, and pro-
 fessions of zeal : but seldom appear so open-
 ly as in this performance, which has only
 the thin covering of affected orthodoxy, and
 religious buffoonery.

As to the other piece of this merry au-
 thor's, which I have mentioned ; it is quite
 below notice. It does not pretend to rea-
 soning ; and the wit is not more than any
 one that was equally prophane and impu-
 dent, might attempt with as much success.
 I will only make one observation upon this,
 and all the pieces I have seen in opposition

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to the *Plain Account of the Lord's Supper*: The objections against it are chiefly, that it sets the account of that institution much too low; and thereby greatly interrupts the comforts of good men, and encourages the wicked to partake of it. The just answer is, that the question ought to be, what is the *true* account? Not what *ends* such account will serve? That it is not in the power of this author, or of any other, to diminish the real joys of good christians, or to support the hopes of the wicked. In the mean time, the account there given seems to be the truth: And the worst use to which it can be perverted, is to reduce christians from enthusiastick joys to the solid comforts of a good conscience; and to render the institution of it not worth the attendance of the prophane and immoral: Since it contains no charm for the salvation of the wicked, or any encouragement but to the practice of virtue. I am,

S I R,

Nov. 13,
1736.

Your humble Servant,

ATTICUS.

NUMB.

 NUM B. LXIX.

TH^{O'} the cause of liberty is the most useful and glorious which human nature can engage in, yet the espousing it has been continually dangerous, and often unsuccessful.

VITIOUS men are its natural enemies, as vice can only be supported by oppression; and weak men are so divided in their judgments, and so zealous in their trifles, that they seldom are brought to unite in any profitable attempt.

BUT the chief misfortunes which have attended the cause and friends of liberty, are owing to their careless choice of leaders, and their relying on the abilities of their chiefs, without distrusting their integrity.

So that our histories shew us the name of liberty to have been continually made a stalking-horse to power, from the days of *Thomas Becket* to those of the unfortunate *Strafford*, and possibly even later instances might be produced.

To prevent my good friends, the *Old Whigs*, from falling into this common snare, and being the dupes of crafty men, I would recommend it to them, in their choice of leaders, rather to regard a known integrity, than the most shining parts. Truth needs

no artifice to recommend her, nor does liberty want any defence but honesty. He that can give a reason for acting once wrong, or once against his conscience, will never want one ; and his reasons will be strongest when we want his service most.

OUR choice of men must therefore depend chiefly on our knowledge of their past actions, and particularly in the remarkable changes of their fortunes. Prosperity and adversity are the touchstones God has given us to try men on. He that has forgot his principles and friends from his prosperity, and he that has betray'd them from his adversity, are equally to be avoided.

THE selfish man, if he is raised to power, immediately suffers a metamorphosis; he is turned into a statesman, he reasons no longer as a man ; his reason is what he calls reason of state; good and evil are no more ; 'tis convenience and difficulty which are to guide his actions ; and the serving or distressing him, the rule for all men else to act by: If he pleases that fifty shall be a greater number than threescore ; you are to consider, that if you assert the contrary, you may distress him ; and, that if you distress him, you distress the cause of liberty, which no one else ever was, or ever will be, able to support.

ON the contrary, if he is distress'd, his principles are lost in passions ; grief, or superstition, or resentment, possess him totally ;
and,

and, if the last, he will join with the worst men in their worst purposes.

BUT if I should attempt to paint this inconsistent character, a courtier out of place turn'd patriot, yet acting against the cause of liberty; writing on whig principles; voting with their most notorious enemies; choosing rather a dependence on a number of known and despised enemies, than to head a few well-chosen friends: I say, if I should attempt to paint this character, though it would be most natural and just, yet it would appear too inconsistent; especially as I can't think of any person to whom it possibly could be apply'd.

I will choose, therefore, to entertain the reader with a picture of a truly great man in distress, taken from Mr. ROWE's excellent *translation* of LUCAN's *Pharsalia*.

AFTER the battle of *Pharsalia*, so fatal to the liberties of *Rome*, the godlike *Cato*, gathering up the relicts of *Pompey's* army, transported them into *Africa*; where he engaged them in a very difficult toilsome march, and in great distress by reason of the parching sands, the venomous animals that abound there, the hunger and thirst which they sustain'd. It happen'd, that in their march, they came near to the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, whose oracles were so famous throughout the world: *Labienus*, one of the officers, had a great desire to know what would be the event of the war,

war, and endeavours to persuade *Cato* to consult the oracle about it, and to learn from thence likewise the nature and bounds of virtue, and by what fix'd and perfect rules mankind should govern themselves and their actions. *Cato* answers him thus: Book 9. Lin. 958.

WHERE would thy fond, thy vain enquiry go?
 What mystick fate, what secret wouldst thou know?
 Is it a doubt if death should be my doom,
 Rather than live till kings and bondage come,
 Rather than see a tyrant crown'd in *Rome*?
 Or wouldst thou know if, what we value here,
 Life, be a trifle hardly worth our care?
 What by old age and length of days we gain,
 More than to lengthen out the sense of pain?
 Or if this world, with all its forces join'd,
 The universal malice of mankind,
 Can shake or hurt the brave and honest mind?
 If stable virtue can her ground maintain,
 While fortune feebly threats and frowns in vain?
 If truth and justice with uprightness dwell,
 And honesty consist in meaning well?
 If right be independent of success,
 And conquest cannot make it more nor less?
 ARE these, my friend, the secrets thou wouldst know?
 Those doubts for which to oracles we go?
 'Tis known, 'tis plain, 'tis all already told,
 And horned *Ammon* can no more unfold.
 From God derived, to God by nature join'd,
 We act the dictates of his mighty mind:
 And though the priests are mute, and temples still,
 God never wants a voice to speak his will.
 When first we from the teeming womb were brought,
 With in-born precepts then our souls were fraught,
 And then the maker his new creatures taught:
 Thus when he form'd, and gave us to be men,
 He gave us all our useful knowledge then.
 CANST thou believe, the vast eternal mind
 Was e'er to *Syrts* and *Lybian* sands confin'd?

That

That he would choose this waste, this barren ground,
 To teach the thin inhabitants around,
 And leave his truth in wilds and desarts drown'd?
 Is there a place that God would choose to love
 Beyond this earth, the seas, yon heaven above,
 And virtuous minds, the noblest throne for *Jove*?
 WHY seek we farther then? Behold around,
 How all thou see'st doth with the God abound;
Jove is alike in all, and always to be found.
 Let those weak minds who live in doubt and fear,
 To juggling priests for oracles repair;
 One certain hour of death to each decreed,
 My fixt, my certain soul from doubt has freed.
 The coward and the brave are doom'd to fall;
 And when *Jove* told this truth, he told us all.

SO spoke the hero — and to keep his word,
 Nor *Ammon* nor his oracles explored:
 But left the crowd at freedom to believe,
 And take such answers as the priest should give.

FOREMOST on foot he treads the burning sand,
 Bearing his arms in his own patient hand;
 Scorning another's weary neck to press,
 Or in a lazy chariot loll at ease.
 The panting soldier to his toil succeeds,
 Where no command but great example leads.
 Sparing of sleep, still for the rest he wakes,
 And at the fountain, last, his thirst he slakes:
 Where'er by chance, some living stream is found,
 He stands, and sees the cooling draughts go round;
 Stays till the last and meanest drudge be past,
 And till his slaves have drunk, disdains to taste.

IF true good men deserve immortal fame,
 If virtue, tho' distress'd, be still the same;
 Whate'er our fathers greatly dared to do,
 Whate'er they bravely bore, and wisely knew,
 Their virtues all are his, and all their praise his due.
 Who e'er with battles fortunately fought?
 Who e'er with *Roman* blood such honours bought?
 This triumph, this on *Lybia's* utmost bound,
 With death and desolation compass'd round,

To all thy glories, *Pompey*, I prefer
 Thy trophies and thy third triumphal car,
 To *Marius*' mighty name, and great *Jugurthine* war. }
 His country's father here, O *Rome*, behold,
 Worthy thy temples, priests, and shrines of gold!
 If e'er thou break thy lordly master's chain,
 If liberty be e'er restor'd again,
 Him shalt thou place in thy divine abodes,
 Swear by his holy name, and rank him with thy Gods.



N U M B. LXX.

Nonne vides ut
Nudum remigio Latus? H O R.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

MOST men mistake their talents; and
 whilst they attempt impossibilities,
 neglect the service which they might be of
 to the public.

THIS vanity particularly abounds in
 you who call yourselves political writers;
 who deal in controversies, and hope to make
 converts to your opinions: You imagine it
 of consequence to all men to examine your
 arguments, and assure yourselves they carry
 conviction with them; tho' you know well
 the generality of readers seldom trouble them-
 selves to read more than what is wrote on
 their own side the question, and are well sa-
 tisfied

tified without understanding even that, since they are assured nothing can be said on the other.

A modest writer, therefore, will address himself to his own party, who are most likely to be his courteous readers; and never hope to gain one convert from the enemy, tho' his most forcible arguments should by accident obtain a perusal.

MEN are not in these days to be disputed out of their opinions; *Vultur* is the sharpest fellow in *England*, yet *Vultur* could never understand an argument against himself in his life. I would not be understood that mankind are grown tenacious of their opinions; I know the contrary; *Vultur* is the most tractable creature in the universe; but men are not to be disputed out of their principles.

I take my worthy friend, Mr. OSBORNE, to be the greatest writer of the present age: He has clearly, fully, and evidently demonstrated some fifteen thousand propositions, many of which he has assured us were self-evident. He has also as clearly, fully and evidently, undemonstrated about five hundred eighty and six of the aforesaid important propositions; and yet so strongly are men prejudiced against this kind of demonstration, that I never yet heard of any one person he converted: Whilst, by proper methods, his great friend and worthy companion has not only converted *Mist* and *Fog*, but

but has in some points convicted even *Caleb* himself.

THE art of conversion is therefore to be considered as foreign to you writers, and to be left to persons of greater weight; who have better opportunities of being heard, and are furnished with more solid arguments, which are generally attended with success: They are of different kinds, as the nature of the case or the obstinacy of their adversary requires.

THERE are some learned doctors who have done great matters with a gracious smile or a familiar nod. But I am told, that in former times, the common method of political reasoning was, what the learned call, *a Posteriori*, or from consequences; of late, the *Argumentum a Priori* (said to be invented by a famous *Swiss*) is thought to be the most satisfactory.

THE *Argumentum Baculinum* is also to be used occasionally, and has done good service.

BUT as these effectual methods of convincing seem to be wholly out of the power of you political writers, I once more request you to leave all kind of hopes of making converts to your betters, and confine your labours to the service of your friends the *Old Whigs*; keep them steady in their principles; set before them frequently the examples of their fathers, who lived assertors, and died martyrs to the cause of liberty:

Hampden, Russel, Sidney, and many others, who swelled our state trials to a handsome bulk.

PERHAPS some of your readers think such men rather to be admired than imitated; but even with these you may have so far success, as to persuade them not to give their principles away; but if they will part with liberty, teach them to do it (as the *Miscellanist* says the *Egyptians* wisely and justly did with theirs to *Pharaoh*) for a valuable consideration.

I know that in these happy days, when *Old Whigs*, or what is all one, as Mr. OSBORNE says, the *New*, are in possession not only of all the liberty, but even of all the power they ought to hope for, cautions of this kind seem somewhat out of season.

BUT let not our present happiness lull us into a dangerous security. In former ages *Whig* parliaments have had some strange convictions, when laws have been proposed most favourable to liberty: Men educated and raised by presbyterians have become at once high churchmen; statesmen have forgot their policy, and spoke plain *English*; admirals have been seized with pannicks; and OSBORNE himself has thrown away his pen in dudgeon, tho' usually, as he assures us, alike unmoved by favours, or by threats of ministers.

THINGS which have happened, though long ago, are to be thought of as possible at least,

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least, even in the present age: A session of parliament draws on, wherein many good laws will be proposed; some which were ordered to be prepared the last session; some which were then thought necessary, tho' want of time hindered any progress in them: The eyes and labours of all *Whigs*, *old* and *new*, will once more be employ'd in the pursuit of liberty. I doubt not but to see them work together; and that our friend OSBORNE will have a demonstration that they are really the same, tho' called invidiously by different names.

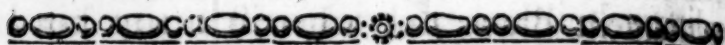
BUT if the contrary, however improbable, should happen, at least persuade your friends the *Old Whigs*, to retain their principles; that if the talk'd of coalition of parties should happen, we may at least convince the world 'tis the *new Whigs* that join the *Jacobites*, and not the *old*. I am,

S I R,

Tours, &c.

L 3

NUMB.



N U M B. LXXI.

De ecclesia accipi potest, quod qui simulant se esse de ecclesia dei, camaleontes sunt, qui non habent unum colorem, sed diversis peccatis, nunc avaritia, nunc luxuria, nunc credulitate, nunc libidine, nunc tristitia, nunc exultatione, per momenta mutantur. HIERON, in SOPHON. Cap. 2.

THERE is no one word that I know of, that is *more innocent* and harmless in its nature, or the meaning of which is *more certain* and determinate, than that of the CHURCH; and yet no word that hath been more *misapplied* and abused, or been the occasion of *greater confusions* and mischiefs in the christian world. 'Tis a favourite term principally with two sorts of persons, the reverend clergy and the understanding mob; with the former, because they would generally have the word to mean *themselves* only; with the latter, because they have the greatest zeal, and are the most *sturdy champions* for it.

THE right and *seasonable application* of this word hath produced great and wonderful effects. 'Tis a term of *dignity* and *sacredness*, and consecrates every thing that
touches

touches and belongs to it. Take the most ordinary building of brick or stone, and inscribe on it *this character*, and it immediately becomes venerable and holy, and the very covering the head within its inclosures rises into prophaneſs and impiety.

How wonderful is the change it produces in the characters, behaviour, and expectations of men ! A *ſon of the church*, how honourable the appellation ! With what views doth it inſpire ! To what privileges doth it intitle ! In compariſon of this, a *chriſtian* is a mean and undiſtinguiſhing character ! A *proteſtant* ! the name is almoſt loſt, the meaning of it forgot, and the principles once conveyed with it almoſt univerſally renounced. But a *churchman* ! how enchanting is the ſound, and what wiſdom, virtue and ſuper-eminent worth is invariably connected with it ! The man that wears it immediately imagines, that he hath an *excluſive right* to all the dignities, preferments, and emoluments of the three kingdoms, and can hardly perſuade himſelf to think, that any other kind of perſon hath a right to breath the *britiſh* air, or enjoy the common influences of the ſun.

BUT the more peculiar application of this word is productive of the moſt ſurpriſing changes. The *church itſelf*, what divine honour and prerogatives doth ſhe claim ! The men that conſtitute it, how reverend their characters, how ſacred their very gar-

ments, how inviolable their properties, and how surpassing all human dignity, their functions and offices ! No sooner are they become parts of her body, but they are instantly changed from their former selves. The consecrating hand covers all defects, spreads a robe of solemn sanctity over their whole persons, and invests them with a right to all divine and earthly privileges : They become superior to mortal men, they sit *in heavenly places*, and are thought worthy to drink *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* with the very angels.* The lowest order of them are at least *the vicars of Jesus Christ* ; the highest degree are *the types of God* the universal father ; whilst the middle are nothing less, than *the council of God, and a collection of the apostles of Christ*.

FULLY qualified by the Holy Ghost, which they are commanded to receive at their *mysterious initiation*, tho' before ignorant, they instantly become wiser than the rest of mankind, and fit to instruct them in the arts and intricacies of faith. Their former errors and wandrings notwithstanding, they are now authorized to lead others into the paths of salvation ; and 'tis scepticism not to believe implicitly the oracular dictates of these divine ambassadors ; and downright infidelity either to question their mission, or demand a sight of their credentials.

* *Ignat. Ep. ad Tral. c. 3.*

To them, as the constituent members of the church, the christian priesthood, by an uninterrupted conveyance, solely belongs. Theirs only is the dignity to approach the altar, and there to offer up solemn sacrifices. *Procul ite prophani*, is the language to the unsanctified laity, and from afar off only are they allowed to behold the wonderful transactions of these *types* of God, and *vicars* of Jesus Christ. Theirs only is the power to consecrate the sacred elements, and dispose to others the *seals of grace*, and symbols of salvation.

To their custody are committed the *keys of life and death*, and they claim it as their prerogative, because the imagined prerogative of the church, *to bind and loose*, to retain and remit the sins of all transgressors. And in virtue of this power, the same elements they give to the *living*, as signs and *seals of grace*, they exhibit likewise to the *dying* as their *viaticum* and passport into heaven; whether they die by the course of nature, or as criminals by the justice of human laws.

ADVANCED to these and the like honours, and invested with such privileges, every thing about them hath *the odour of sanctity*; their aspects, they think, command reverence, and they expect a decent regard to be paid even to their *very cloth*. Yea, what is still more wonderful, their very vices become pardonable, because committed *under*

der the rose, that the church hath consecrated ; and the attempt to introduce laws of reformation, that should reach their abuses, is interpreted as an assault upon the church, and a violation of her immunities.

SHOULD the legislature endeavour to *regulate the sacred tythes*, that are appropriated for her maintenance, either as to the *modus* of them, or the *manner* of the collecting them, or method of recovering them, in order to prevent encroachments upon the rights of parishes, vexatious law-suits, malicious prosecutions, and rigorous and cruel imprisonments ; immediately the cry is, 'tis a bold invasion of the rights of the church ; and the *vicars of Christ, the types of God, and the privy council of heaven*, all take up the alarm, unite in the common cause, and with all their force endeavour to ward off the impending danger.

As the church is a great friend to the mysteries of matrimony, reserves to herself the celebration of the rites of it, and the profits that attend it, and claims the power of all dispensations relating to it ; of marrying *in season and out of season*, of licensing clandestine and fraudulent marriages, and of joyning together those whom neither God nor nature, fortune nor blood, rank nor degree, ever intended to unite : The design to put a stop to these illegal practices, by punishing the authors of them, regulating the grant of licences, and making the civil magistrate

gistrate a party to marriage contracts ; and thereby prevent the ruin of estates, degrading the houses of our nobility, and dishonouring the families of our gentry, by impure, adulterous and fraudulent mixtures; instantly becomes an attack upon the constitution, and the church feels herself wounded by such an iniquitous and unprecedented attempt.

As she imagines, by reason of her spiritual prerogatives, and divine honours and privileges which she enjoys, that she hath some just right and claim to all earthly riches and emoluments; and hath dextrously found out the way to *comfort* the minds of *dying sinners*, by the doctrine of *compensating gifts* and legacies: Try but to restrain these donations, and to check the current of this dying bounty to the church, and we shall immediately hear the lamentable outcry, oh, the *coldness of charity* ! the impiety of the times ! the sad increase of infidelity !

THO' our laws have provided proper punishments for beneficed persons, non-resident on their cures, and though our ancient constitutions have expressly declared, that such who keep pluralities to themselves, are *miserable souls*, * *who take part with the flesh against the spirit, against God and their neighbour, and that they manifestly precipitate themselves into the hands of*

* *Vid. Cod. Plural,*

the devil, take away souls from Christ, and convert the alms of the poor, by an accursed perverseness, into superfluous and wicked uses, by which honesty is defiled, authority annulled, the faith of Christ thrown down, charity banished, and the hope of the poor made to perish; yet should our legislature endeavour to strip any of those who have heaped up to themselves numerous benefices, and to prevent for the future such scandalous engrossing of spiritual preferments; should they oblige the men, who receive the profits, and incomes of our several churches, to reside on their proper cures, or to give honourable support to their curates, whilst they themselves are absent for their pleasure, or other like necessary affairs: Let it be once properly thrown out, that the church will suffer by such kind of regulations; non-residences, pluralities, commendams, and the like, will be no longer matters of offence and scandal, but even necessary to the church's honour and support, the increase of charity and salvation of souls.

THUS wonderful is the application and efficacy of this single word. Yea, what is still more amazing is, that it changes *the very nature* of things, turns *good into evil*, and on the contrary sanctifies the very worst of crimes, and renders them not only innocent, but meritorious. The exercise of *moderation* and christian charity the church can convert into *lukewarmness* and indifference;

care

care in inquiry, and *caution in believing*, into *scepticism* and infidelity ; peaceable and *conscientious separations* from imposed ceremonies, into *damnable schism* ; and even the very *truths* of the gospel into *heresy*.

AND on the contrary, she can with equal skill, convert *blind credulity* into a meritorious faith ; heat and *bigotry* into christian zeal ; persecution she can make consistent with *charity* ; rapine and murder with *equity* and *justice* ; and *fines*, as the price of toleration, with *civil liberty* ; and incapacities for all civil emoluments, with the *natural rights and privileges* of subjects. The *sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, the most venerable institution of christianity, designed to commemorate the death of Christ, she can turn into a *qualification for civil offices*, without altering the *spiritual design* of it ; she can make it, tho' in its nature a mark of *christian union*, a *political engine* of separation and *division* ; she can hold it out indifferently to atheists, infidels, profligates, separatists, schismatics, heretics, condemned malefactors, and unrepenting criminals ; without prostituting and debasing it. She can turn rebellion into loyalty, assassins into confessors, and the murderers of kings into martyrs of Christ. 'Twas for the church *Sacheverel* preached treason, *R——r* artfully practised it, and *parson Paul* was hanged for more honestly and openly avowing it.

Hail

Hail venerable and mysterious term!—

————— *En erit unquam*

Ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta!

En erit, ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem.

With what pleasure I celebrate thy mighty charms, and matchless virtues! In thee center the most resistless powers, and by thy magic force are effected the most prodigious and amazing changes! Tho' gentle thy sound, yet when thy soft whispers diffuse themselves, and penetrate the souls of those who live upon thy breath, the alarm beats quick and loud throughout the wondring nations, kingdoms are shaken from their very centers, and government itself trembles at the mighty confusion! The crowns of princes own and reverence thy authority: The most powerful ministers, who dare every thing else, and govern nations wantonly at their pleasure, tremble at thy sound, dread thy displeasure, live upon thy smiles, and servilely court thy all-powerful favour and protection!

HAIL venerable and mysterious charm! *Vel celo possis deducere lunam!* Ignorance is the firm foundation of thy empire, and the sure support of thy universal sway! Imposture, fraud, deceit, bigotry, violence and persecution, are thy dreadful ministers, that keep the world in bondage to thy chains. Ignorance and superstition spread throughout thy

thy wide dominions, and are the native complections of all thy resolute and determined subjects. Religion, charity, hope and liberty, fair truth and justice, with all the train of kindred graces, sicken at thy breath, and die under thy mighty influence! Oh be favourable to the *british* nations! Spare these envy'd and once favourite lands! Fly where inquisitions, tortures, massacres, sword and fire wait thy dread commands, and render all thy dictates sacred and inviolable.



N U M B LXXII.

*The king that faithfully judgeth the poor,
his throne shall be established for ever.*

SOLOMON.

COMPASSION for the distresses of our fellow creatures is so strongly imprinted in us by nature, that we must do violence to ourselves if we deny our attention to their wants. The interest of the public is so nearly concerned in the increase and maintenance of its people, that a legislature must be very careless which neglects any opportunity of making proper provision for the *poor*.

BUT whatever claim the poor may have to a maintenance from our *benevolence* or *policy*, they have much stronger from our *justice*;

justice; they demand it as their natural and unalienable right; every man has an equal right to the preservation of himself, and to enjoy the necessary supports of nature.

PROPERTY, however sacred we may esteem it, is a consideration of an inferior sort, and must give place whenever it stands in competition with natural right: the former is founded on the consent of society, the latter in the nature of things: the first is limited and conditional, the last unalterable, till nature itself shall change.

I know this assertion will appear to many, new and unintelligible; but lest I should be led into a digression from my present intention, I must leave the farther consideration of it, and its consequences, to some future season; only observing, that from hence it is that our laws justify such persons who take food from others, if only to relieve themselves in cases of extreme want.

THIS was so much considered in the dispensation of the *Jewish* law, that when an *Israelite* had lost his inheritance, and was reduced to poverty, he had his part with the *Levites* in the tythe; and for the same reason were they both provided for in that manner, *viz.* because they had no inheritance in the land. The second tythe therefore amongst the *Jews*, was appropriated to the *poor* and the *Levite*, every third year to be spent all at home within their gates; and a proportion also was left the poor in every

every field and vineyard ; besides the right they had of gathering of the fruits of the earth as they passed thro' a field for their immediate relief ; likewise their festivals were numerous, and their sacrifices very frequent, which were all to be consumed in a day or two after they were killed : All these together afforded a very considerable provision for the poor.

As soon as christianity made its appearance, the maintenance of the poor seem'd one of its principal cares ; insomuch that, in the days of the apostles, all things were in common amongst christians ; and though this continued but a little time in the church, yet the poor were not neglected, but well provided for during the four first centuries by the monthly offerings to the church ; one fourth part of which was constantly applied by the bishop to their use, the rest being applied to the redemption of captives, the building and maintaining churches, and the support of the clergy.

In the fourth century tenths began to be offered to pious uses ; from whence tythes became to be contended for, and afterwards were universally obtained by the clergy. These tythes were at first applied to the charitable uses before mentioned, and generally in the same manner, the clergy reserving to themselves only food and raiment : so that *St. Hierome* says, with a kind of religious

bull, *Quasi Levita & Sacerdos vivo de Decimis, & altari serviens altaris oblatione sustentor ; habens victum & vestitum, his contentus ero & nudam crucem nudus sequar.* But in some places, particularly in *Egypt*, where the tythes were given to abbots, they received them only as treasurers for the poor.

As the church became corrupt, the care of the poor, which at first was a work of piety, became, like all other parts of religion, a pretence to make money of. The reverend treasurers of the poor began to let money stick to their fingers, and act like trustees of this world. The poor was their pretence to extort charities of all kinds, which they did by all possible methods ; some of which, and the laws made from time to time to prevent such practices, we have already mentioned in our papers on the subject of *Mortmain*.

By their various arts they drew immense riches to themselves ; so that we find bishoprics contended for by expensive treats, bribes, and sometimes at the expence of many lives. *Ammianus Marcellinus* mentions no less than two hundred and thirty slain in one church at one of these elections.

CHARITY was the bait with which they catch'd the estates of silly women and dying people. The poor were their decoy ducks ; and they therefore gave them their meat, and had

had them at their command for all occasions, whether to make miracles for the church, or clamour against the state.

THEY took therefore on themselves the profitable trust, and the state, weakly and injudiciously enough, left it to them; taking small care of what they thought the province and duty of the clergy. Yet we see, in the days of king *Richard* II. the parliament thought proper to take care, that in every license made in chancery for an appropriation of any church, a clause should be contain'd, that the diocesan should ordain, according to the value of such churches, a convenient sum to be yearly distributed out of the profits thereof to the poor, *v. stat. 15. R. II. c. 6.* and the *stat. 4. H. IV. c. 12.* obliges a vicar to be instituted and inducted to every such church, not only to perform divine service, but to keep hospitality there.

NOW when we consider that the poor were not only the care of the clergy, but that it was their interest to support them; if we consider what prodigious endowments they were possessed of, not less than a third of these kingdoms; if we consider the means they had of keeping and employing them in abbies and monasteries, and the several offices of the church; and also that the *English* hospitality, and the care that our ancestors took of their vassals, prevented any great number of persons from want; we shall see

whence it is that our laws are almost silent on this head till after the reformation, when the clergy were forced to part with so much of their power and possessions, that they, in despair, left the poor to the care of the laity; who, therefore, have, since that time, made many laws for their maintenance.

THIS was, indeed, a fatal mistake. If I may be permitted the use of an old simile, the decoymen forgot to feed their ducks in a hard storm, and have never been able to reclaim them thoroughly since. This oversight had almost destroy'd the decoy; but they soon found their mistake, and have endeavoured, in some measure, to retrieve it. The care of the poor in general was, indeed, wrested out of their hands for ever, but particular charities might be applied to pious uses; hospitals, and schools, and private trusts yet remained. These were fair opportunities of acquiring much power and some riches, and more fitted for GENTLEMEN than the common drudgery of distributing alms and overseeing the poor. Whether they have or have not made a proper use of these opportunities, I leave to the observation of the courteous reader; but the parliament thought it time once more to give some force to the statute of *Mortmain*, and I believe the kingdom in general are well satisfied with their wisdom in so doing.

AND if the same parliament shall, by making an effectual provision for the poor,
put

put an end to all pretences of real want, we may justly imagine them equal to the best we find in history. All mistaken charities, hurtful to the trade and welfare of the nation in general, and dangerous to its liberty, will soon either fall to the ground, or be applied to better purposes.

How desirable such a law is, how agreeable to our constitution, to the law of reason and nature, and particularly adapted to *Whig* principles, *Old Whig* principles, which are indeed no other but just conclusions drawn from our natural rights, and adapted to our constitution, I must now leave to the reader's judgment.

THE multiplicity of laws which have been made from the days of queen *Elizabeth* to this time for the maintaining of the poor; the perplexity which arises from their different constructions and their seeming repugnancies, particularly the difficulty of determining settlements, the expence occasioned by these difficulties, and the delay of the law in determining concerning them, which is oft greater by much than the maintenance of the poor would amount to; the abuses in parish accounts: All these, and many more considerations, have rendered the present laws ineffectual to answer the good purposes proposed by them. An alteration of our laws is therefore absolutely necessary in these respects. I have already mention'd that such an amendment of our law is under the con-

duct of many worthy and disinterested gentlemen, who laid their scheme before the parliament the last session. It is hoped that all persons whose duty and interest it is, will duly attend to an affair so much for the public benefit.



N U M B. LXXIII.

The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men.

19th art. of the ch. of ENGLAND,

AMONGST the various *arts*, which *corrupt ecclesiasticks* have taken to *deceive* and abuse mankind, there hath been none more successful, than their *dextrous* application of the word CHURCH. The *authority of the CHURCH* is the cover under which they have introduced all the great and scandalous abuses of the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the christian religion; and the *rights of the CHURCH*, this they have constantly opposed to the *rights* and privileges of the *christian laity*; and by this they have always, wheresoever their influence hath prevailed, subverted and usurped them. This I have shewn more at large in a former paper; and indeed the history of almost every christian nation upon the face of the whole earth is a melancholy proof of the truth of the observation.

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I do not wonder that men of *strong sentiments*, and a *passionate love for liberty*, should have their *prejudices* even against christianity itself on this account ; since ignorance and vice, superstition and slavery, ever will be, and always have been the consequences, where *ecclesiastical christianity* hath obtained and prospered. And was the *christian church* what ecclesiastics have made it, and was that christianity which they *have imposed* on the implicate belief of their credulous followers, christianity might still continue to be the religion of the indolent, thoughtless, vicious part of mankind, but could have *little credit* or interest amongst those who were sober, considerate and virtuous.

BUT it must be said, to the *honour* of christianity, that it hath *no correspondence* with, or *resemblance to*, this worldly and interested set of men ; and that the religion of *Jesus* and *Paul* is as different from the religion of many who set up for their *types* and *lineal successors*, as *craft* is different from *simplicity*, real *virtue* and goodness from *superstition* and ceremony, and an *earthly kingdom* from a *moral* and spiritual one. Even the very CHURCH itself, in *their account* and representation of it, and by the *pretended* authority of which they have introduced infinite confusions, absurdities, and miseries into the christian world, is *quite another thing* from that CHURCH

which is spoken of in the *New Testament*; Nor is there one clergyman in the three kingdoms, that hath ever read his *Greek Testament*, but certainly knows it to be so.

THE word *εκκλησια*, CHURCH, denotes in general any assembly, met together as well on civil as religious accounts. And in this sense * 'tis used both by sacred and prophane writers. *Aristophanes* uses the word several times, to denote an assembly, congregation, and *church of women*; and at other times to signify *any number* or company of men met together, whatever be the occasion of their meeting. In the N. T. it is also used to denote an assembly of men met together on *merely civil* purposes. *Act.* xix. 39. Hence the same word is transferred to an assembly of christians, to denote either the number of christians dwelling in such a particular city or place, or the collective body of christians throughout the whole world. And this is the general, if not the only, sense in which the word *εκκλησια*, or *church*, is used in the N. T. when applied to christians, *viz.* to denote particular bodies or *congregations* in any place, or the *collective* body of christians throughout the world; but *never once* to denote *the clergy* in opposition to the christian laity; or *councils* and synods of ecclesiastics met together to make laws and impose them on the christian people.

• *Ecclesia.*

AND

AND if the word, *ἐκκλησία*, were always translated CONGREGATION instead of CHURCH, it would appear that the *authority of the church* is nothing more than *the natural power* that resides in the laity; and the *rights of the church* the same with the rights and *privileges of the christian people*. Thus our Saviour orders his disciples, when the offending brother should refuse to hearken and submit to more private instructions, *to tell the affair*, not to the types, ambassadors, and pretended privy counsellors of the Lord, but *to the congregation*; and that if he should *refuse to hear the congregation*, he should be then treated as *an heathen man or publican*, i. e. be looked upon as an obstinate and incorrigible offender. *Mat. xviii. 17.* A very innocent and reasonable command, the observation of which is necessary to the good order and peace of society. And thus the *church of the living God*, which, as some choose to connect the words, is said to be *the pillar and ground of truth*, 1 Tim. iii. 15. is the *collective congregation* or body of christians, professing the uncorrupted doctrine of christianity, and by that profession *upholding* the truth of our blessed Saviour in the world, as a superstructure is *upheld* by the foundation and pillars that support it; not *Timothy* and his clergy, nor the prelates and priests in any of the successive ages of christianity.

THIS is the almost invariable sense of the word *ἐκκλησια*, CHURCH, in the N. T. viz. the congregation or *body of the christian laity*; and had the word been render'd CONGREGATION, the eyes of the christian people would have been opened, and the clergy would not have been so well able to have *cheated* and deceived them in the scandalous manner they have, under the pretence of the power and *authority of the church*.

AND this was abundantly perceived by those, who had the management and *direction* of the translation of our *English Bible*. They saw that the rendring the word *ἐκκλησια* *congregation* or assembly, would tend to destroy the very foundation of *church*, i. e. *ecclesiastical and clerical authority*; because there is not *one single passage* where *ἐκκλησια* is used of the clergy, it being the *discriminative appellation* of the christian laity: And therefore rather than *church*, i. e. *clerical authority*, should appear to be wholly destitute of all *scripture countenance* and foundation, they corruptly and *wickedly* gave this order to the translators: * *The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, viz. the word CHURCH not to be translated CONGREGATION, &c.* An order that could be given for *no other purpose*, but to propagate the notion and support the pretences of

* See Burnet's *Hist. of Reform. Collect. of Records*, p. 368.

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ecclesiastical, *i. e.* *clerical power*; since 'tis well known, that the clergy had, for many ages, *usurped* and appropriated *the name of the CHURCH to themselves*, to the injury of the *true church of Christ*, which is the christian laity, or collective body of believers. Thus did they choose to maintain their own usurpations over the christian people, by *ambiguous and fraudulent* terms and translations of the word of God, rather than *endanger* their own pretensions and craft by a plain *honest version*, that might lead the reader into a true knowledge of the genuine sense of scripture.

I WILL give one instance more of *the integrity* of the managers of this translation, because 'tis directly to my present purpose. *Acts xiv. 23. When they had ORDAINED them elders in every church, they commended them to the Lord.* The Greek word *καταρτισαν* is rendered by the *old ecclesiastical* word, ORDAINED, because the ordination is here supposed to be made by *Paul and Barnabas*, and so may seem to countenance *the appropriation* of ordinations to clerical men. But they knew that this would *not hold* throughout the N. T. and therefore we have the same word rendered very *differently*, and made to convey *quite another notion*, when the using the *old ecclesiastical* word, ORDAINED, might have led the people into an opinion, which it was not *the clergy's interest* should be countenanced and propagated.

gated. 2 Cor. viii. 19. St. Paul tells the *Corinthians*: *We have sent with him (Titus) the brother, whose praise is throughout all the churches, and not only so, but who was also chosen* (*ξεπορισμενός* ORDAINED) *of the churches to travel with us.* Had these words been rendered, who WAS ORDAINED BY THE CONGREGATIONS, which is the true sense of them, an indifferent reader would have been apt to have concluded, that originally *every christian congregation* had some share in the ordination of their own officers; as in all right and equity one would think they ought to have, and as we are sure they had for a long term of years in *the election* of them. But there were *certain reasons* why this should be concealed as a secret from the poor laity, and why even the word of God itself should be so rendered as to countenance the deception.

I intend soon to lay before the world some *other curiosities* of this kind; and shall now only observe farther, that as the scripture tells us, that *the friendship of this world is enmity with God*; so *friendship with that church*, which the corrupt clergy have erected, *is direct enmity to the church of Christ.* The rights of the *true church* are the rights and liberties of *the christian flock*; and when the authority and *rights of any other church* are pleaded for, 'tis a plea for the *usurpations* of those men over the liberties

liberties of the church of Christ, who never *were honoured* with that *sacred name*, and who at best are but *the ministers and servants* of it. To be a *staunch churchman*, and a *true son of the church*, in the christian and honourable sense of the words, is to maintain a steady opposition to all *ecclesiastical encroachments* and abuses, and not *servilely* to submit to *clerical claims* and determinations; but *zealously* to assert, and steadily stand up in defence of those liberties, with which *Christ hath made the christian people free*. In this sense I am a *true churchman*, and so is every *Old Whig* and *Consistent Protestant* in the kingdom; but to be a *true churchman*, in the ecclesiastical sense of the expression, is to *betray the cause* of christianity, and consent to the *sacrifice* of the *most valuable liberties* of mankind.

I know *this zeal* for the *true church* will be censured by *the craftsmen of the age*, as enmity to *that church* which they have *trumpt up* in the room of it. And I allow the charge is true; for 'tis impossible to be acted by a *true zeal* for the privileges of the christian people, who are *the only church of christ* that the scriptures mention, and not to be an *enemy* to the iniquitous pretences of a few worldly and *ambitious men*, who have *robbed* the christian laity of this *sacred name*, and without colour and reason have *sacrilegiously assumed* and appropriated it to themselves. And as that *illustrious prelate*,
who

who hath so strenuously and *unanswerably* defended the rights and *liberties of the people*, hath raised to himself *a monument of glory*, that will last whilst *true religion and liberty* shall have a *being* in these kingdoms; he will not *be offended* with me when I mention *to his honour*, and the honour of a wise and *grateful administration*, what was but a few days ago spoken *to his reproach* by a reverend doctor of this city: *That he is the greatest enemy the church hath had for many ages, and has been rewarded with four bishopricks for his pains.* To the church of Christ he hath approved himself the *most steady friend*; and if he is an enemy to the church, it can be only to *the unchristian usurpations of men*, * *whom he hath tried, which say they are the church, and are not, and whom he hath found lyars.* Nor can there ever be a more just and *equitable distribution* of national rewards, than on those who espouse the *cause of virtue*, and are the avowed patrons of the *civil and religious liberties of mankind.* The *best preferments* are but a reward *equal to his merit*; and every good man rejoices to see *that merit suitably rewarded*, and blesses *the hand that so wisely and justly bestowed it.*

* Revel. ii. 2.

NUMB. LXXIV.

Επισκοπος veteribus Græcis dicebatur, quis-
quis alicui negotio aut loco fuerat præ-
fectus.

I. Casaub. in *Æn. Tacit.* apud Polyb.
Vol. 3. Edit. Gronov.

IN a former paper I have given some account of the notion of the word CHURCH, as used both by sacred and prophane writers. I now intend to consider the proper meaning of the word BISHOP, which is a term that hath made a very considerable noise and figure in the learned world; on which account I hope my candid reader will excuse me, if I shew a little more of my learning than usual in the explication of it; especially as I shall endeavour to veil nothing from him under the cover of mystery, but to make him as wise and knowing as myself.

THE word bishop then, comes by certain gradual alterations from the Greek *επισκοπος*, *episcop*, *piscop*, *pischop*, *bishop*, and is originally of *Pagan* or *Heathen* derivation, and what is very wonderful, both of the *masculine* and *feminine* gender. 'Tis of great antiquity and dignity, and in its primary and original sense denotes an *inspector* or *overseer*. And of these inspectors
and

and bishops there were various kinds amongst the ancient heathens.

THE heathen Gods in general are called by * *Pindar*, a very ancient poet, ὀλυμπευσιγχοποι, the *bishops, presidents, or keepers of heaven*, to denote their dignity and office; and besides this general character, they seem to have had each their particular *care or province* assign'd to them, over which they were in an especial manner inspectors. *Jove* himself, the father of the Gods, hath the title λιμενοσχηπος, *inspector or bishop of the ports*, given him by † *Callimachus*, because the ports or havens were supposed to be more immediately under his care. And as *Jove* was supposed to be the *supreme inspector or archbishop* of the Gods, so he constituted and ordained inferior *bishops and bishopesses* under him. Thus, in answer to *Diana's* prayer, after she had tickled the old archbishop's beard, and brought him into good humour, he, *Jove*, with a smile and stroke on her chin, tells her, ††

— Καὶ μὲν ἀγλαῖς

Ἔσσι καὶ λιμενεσσιν ἐπισχηπος —

Thou shalt be a bishopess, child, over the ways and ports. So that *Diana* was bishopess over the highways and havens: Hence she had the name of *Trivia*; and †† *Plutarch* tells us, that there was in *Elis*, a

* Ol. 1. 86. Ed. Exon. † Frag. Bent. 114. Ed. Spart.

†† Callimi. H. in Dian. 39. †† Qu. Græc. p. 302. Edit. Francof.

city of Greece, a temple *τῆς ἐπισημῆς Ἀρ-
μίδος* of this *Diana the bishopefs*.

* *Pallas* or *Minerva* was also honoured with this office of bishopefs, *Ἐπισημεῖ γὰρ πα-
ρανοῦς το ναυτικῶν*. She most eminently act-
ed the bishopefs over the naval affairs. Be-
sides this, she seems to have had episcopal
inspection over the *χῦτρα* the pots, and to
have had an excellent hand at making broths
and jellies, and as the comick poet assures
us, was *porridge-maker general* to the city
of Athens, and by that means kept it from
being uninhabited. So that this kind of
kitchen or *porridge bishops* is of great dig-
nity and antiquity, and hath no less than the
goddess of war and wisdom for their pa-
troness. From these instances we find *plu-
ralities* were not forbidden in the *heathen
church*; nor should it seem strange that if
the goddesses lead the example, men should
be desirous and ambitious of imitating them.

THEY had also their particular fees and
flocks allotted them, over which they had
episcopal jurisdiction, where they had their
proper *chathedra*, priests and chaplains.
Thus † *Pindar* stiles *Apollo* *Δαλυ* *Διοδ-
ουλος* *σηπον*, lord bishop of divine-formed
Delos, as the Paraphrast renders it, *domi-
numq; et custodem Deli*, and as the word un-
questionably signifies in this place and in
other authors. The same †† *Pindar* stiles

* *Aristoph. Equit.* 1170, &c.

† *Ol.* 6. v. 101.

†† *Ol.* 14. v. 15.

the αοιδιμοὶ βασιλεῖαι χαεῖτες the venerable
 queens the Graces Μινυαὶ ἐπισκοποι the lady
 bishopesses of the ancient Minuz, certain
 persons of *Thessaly*, over whom these ex-
 cellent ladies exercised * the episcopal au-
 thority, and who were also the attendants
 on the queen of beauty, and presided over
dancing matches and feasts; from whence it
 appears that these kind of exercises were not
 anciently esteemed beneath the dignity, sa-
 credness and gravity of the episcopal func-
 tion and character.

WHAT hath been said, is, I think, a-
 bundantly sufficient to prove, that the epi-
 scopal office and dignity, at least amongst
 the heathens, was properly *jure divino*, of
 divine original, since the Gods and Goddesses
 themselves bore this honourable and sacred
 character. And from the Gods it descended
 to men. And accordingly we find,

THAT kings and princes, who are them-
 selves also called Gods, were anciently styled
 bishops, the regal and episcopal power be-
 ing originally united in one and the same
 person. Thus † *Xenophon* tells us, that *Cyrus*
 ἐπισκοπεῖ καὶ παρῆχε πάντα ὅς ἐστι ἐδὲν exercised
 the episcopal function, and maintained hos-
 pitality. *Andromache* styles her *Hector*, bi-
 shop of *Troy*, who like a good bishop, ὁλωλεν
 ἐπισκοπος, dyedst in defence of it. ‡ And a-
 mongst the several words by which the re-

* *Id. ibid. v. 10.* † *Cyrop. p. 588. Edit. Hatch.*

‡ *Hom. Il. w. v. 729.*

gal or *imperial power* was usually denoted,
 * *J. Pollux* expressly mentions *ἐπισκοπος*,
bishop, as one equally proper with any of
 the rest. And, if I am not mistaken, the
 regal and episcopal power are thus united in
 the persons of our kings; since as the very
 reverend author of the *Codex* observes, *the*
whole papal jurisdiction, as exercised in
England, is annex'd to the crown, by the
statut. 1 Elizabeth.

AND accordingly in ancient times, kings
 and princes, and civil states had the nomi-
 nation and creation of bishops under them.
 Thus the † *Athenians* used to appoint and
 send proper persons *to visit* the cities sub-
 ject to them, and they were dignified by
 the stile and title of *ἐπισκοποι*, or *bishops*;
 which bears a very great resemblance to our
 modern *episcopal visitations*. The privi-
 leges of these bishops were very great.
 They had a right *to be entertained at the*
public charge. Thus the bishop of *the*
fairy city of Nephelococcygia in † *Aristo-*
phanes, cries out upon his coming to the
 place; *πῶς ποῖοι*; *where are the receivers*
of the strangers? And when *Pisthetærus*
 merrily ask, *who is this Sardanapalus?*
 the bishop peremptorily and gravely answers,
ἐπισκοπος ἡκῶ, *I come here bishop of Ne-*
phelococcygia, knowing his title was suf-
 ficient to procure him entertainment. He

* L. 8. c. 9. § 84. *Ed. Westin.* † *Schol. in Arist.*
Av. v. 1023. Ed. Kuster. † *Aves. v. 1022.*

was * *regularly chosen* and sent. *καμψὺ λαχών*, obtained his bishopric *by ballot of beans*. Their persons seem to have been *sacred* and inviolable. Thus when *Pisthetærus* fell foul on the bishop and beat him, the bishop cries out : *Μαρτυροῦμαι τυπτόμενόν ἐν ἐπισκοπῇ*, *I vow I have been threshed, tho' I am a bishop*; † accuses him, appoints a day for his trial, *ἀπολωσέ*, *swears his destruction*, ‡ and that he'll fine him ten thousand Drachms ; and then reproaches him in a very *polite* and *courtly manner*, for that *one evening* † *καπνίλα*, *he beskt*—*t one of the publick images*. As this bishop presided over only a fairy city of birds, I shall stile his successors bishops of *fairy land*.

Numa †† the second king of *Rome*, amongst other regulations for the public utility, divided the whole territory of *Rome* into certain districts, over each of which he constituted *ἀρχόντα ἐπισκοπον*, a *lord bishop*; who were frequently to visit each his proper province, and to *inform* *Numa*, by transmitting their accounts to him, whether the lands were well or ill cultivated. These may properly enough be stiled *informing bishops*.

Pericles, one of the best of the *Athenian* princes, employ'd the common people of *Athens* in many excellent and necessary public works, both for the ornament and de-

* v. 1023. † v. 1032. ‡ v. 1046. † v. 1054.
†† *Dion. Hall.* p. 130, *Ed. Oxon.*

fence of the city ; and tho' he had many architects and artists to carry on his designs, yet as *Plutarch* tells us in his life, * he appointed *Phidias*, one of the best painters and statuaries in the world, *παντων επισκοπος*, *bishop over them all*. So that *Phidias* was properly *bishop of the craftsmen*.

Antiochus Epiphanes † compelled the *Jews* to forsake their national religion, and to embrace his Gods. For this purpose he erected temples to them in all the towns and cities of *Judea*, and every where sacrificed swine upon the altars. He moreover commanded the *Jews* not to circumcise their children, threatening very severely all who should be found to do it. And to carry on this holy work of conversion more effectually, *κατιστοι επισκοπους*, *he appointed bishops to compel the Jews to come in*, and force them to obey the king's command. And in this *pious work* of converting by compulsion, these bishops have had their successors by a lineal and uninterrupted descent throughout almost all ages and nations ; whom I cannot call by a more proper name than that of *inquisitory bishops*.

Cicero ‡ the famous *Roman* orator, tells his friend *Atticus*, that he presided over a very troublesome affair. For that *Pompey* would have him *επισκοπον* *bishop over Campania* and the sea coast, and that to him as

* p. 159.

† *Joseph. Ant.* p. 610. *Ed. Haverc.*

‡ *Epist. ad. At.* l. 7. *Ep.* 11.

such, the soldiery, and whole management of *Pompey's* affairs, should be committed. Nor is it an unusual thing to see bishops in later ages gallantly heading the troops of *Mars*, as well as feeding *the flocks* of Christ like shepherds, and *gently gathering the lambs with their arms*. These I shall distinguish by the stile and title of martial or *military bishops*.

BUT besides these, I find other bishops also, of a somewhat different and inferior kind and office. *Themistius*, the philosopher, in his oration upon the consulate of *Jovian* the emperor, speaks of certain *flattering bishops*, who would have persuaded *Jovian* not to have given *liberty of conscience* to persons of all persuasions, but to have persecuted those who would not subscribe to their opinions. *Themistius* * too justly says of them: *αλευριδα, u διον δια- πνευστας*: *They worship the purple and not God*. And tho' one would imagine, by the account which *Socrates* gives, that they were christian bishops of whom *Themistius* speaks, yet this cannot be true: since 'tis essential to the character of a christian bishop not to worship the purple more than God, but to *worship God more than the purple*. These I shall dignify by the very reverend name of *purple-hunters*.

Homer, the prince of poets, speaks of some persons who were constituted *bishops*,

* *Socrat. Ec. Hist. l. 3. c. 25.*

in order to be *spies*. Thus *Menelaus* * says to his brother *Agamemnon*,

— Η πν' εταίρων

Οτρυνεις Τρῶεσσιν ἐπισκοπον; —

Are you going to send any one of your companions as a bishop or spy amongst the Trojans? And when Ulysses saw Dolon approaching to the Grecian camp, who came as a spy from the Trojans, he whispers †

Diomedes: — Νηεσσιν ἐπισκοπος ημετηρσιν.

He comes as a bishop or spy into our navy. This branch of the episcopal office,

however necessary at proper times, was not greatly coveted, because of the danger that attended it. Thus *Menelaus* tells his brother in the first cited place of *Homer*, Δειδω,

μη τις τοι υποχῆλαι τοδε εργον, *I fear you'll get no body to undertake this office.* Nor

would *Dolon* assume it, till he had the promise of a very great reward; which, how-

ever, he never received; *Diomedes*, with-

out any regard to his *episcopal function*,

cruelly putting the *poor bishop* to death, in the very *execution of his office*. So dan-

gerous is the employment of a *spy bishop*.

Homer also speaks of another sort of bi-

shops, whom he mentions with a kind of indignation; and in order to do it with less

offence, he makes the reproach come from one *Euryalus* † in a speech to *Ulysses*, in which he calls him — Επισκοπος ησιν οδαιων,

* Il. x. v. 38. † Ibid. 342. ‡ Odyf. 9. v. 163.

κερδων δ' αρπαλεων — *You are a bishop of victuals and plundered gains.* This heathen sort of *victualling and harpy bishops* are directly opposite to that christian bishop which St. Paul * speaks of, who he says must be, σωφρονα, μη παροινον, μη αιχευαρδην. *sober, not given to wine, nor a lover of filthy lucre.*

J. Pollux † also speaks of a certain set of bishops, whom he calls αθλων επισκοποι, *bishops of the games*; such as running, wrestling, riding, boxing, &c. which were some of the most celebrated games of the ancients. These *bishops, or masters of the revels*, are not wholly unknown to our own nation; such kind of sports and games, even on *sundays*, having been authorised by the *episcopal authority*; that holy martyr *Laud* being the patron, defender, and support of them. And because these inspectors, or *bishops of the revels*, did adjust every thing relating to them, in the exactest manner, and were themselves probably very dextrous sportsmen; hence he who sat well on an horse, or had a great skill in throwing a dart, is said to do it ‡ επισκοπωτατα, i. e. *most episcopally.*

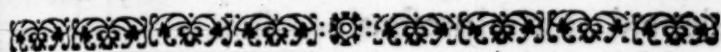
I could add many other things to illustrate this subject, and to shew of how great extent the episcopal power was amongst the ancient heathens. But least I should be

* 1 Tim. 3. 23.

† l. 3. c. 30. § 140.

‡ l. 1. c. 11. § 215.

thought to make an undue ostentation of my small learning, and exceed the bounds of my paper, I shall not add any thing more on this head; reserving for a future paper the discussion of the nature and office of the *monks* or bishop in the christian church.



N U M B. LXXV.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

THE favourable disposition which appear'd last session in both houses of parliament to the universities, not only in granting them liberty to purchase advowsons in *mortmain*, but in many expressions of concern for their welfare, and for the amendment of any thing which may be inconvenient to those great nurseries of sound learning, gives me encouragement to hope that some reformation of their *local statutes* may be effected; which, as they were made so many ages ago, and under such different circumstances of church and state, want much to be reduced to a model more agreeable to the reason and policy of the present times.

I would particularly recommend to the public the alteration of such statutes as require

quire the members of colleges at a certain time to take orders: These statutes seem to be least of all supported by the reasons which subsisted at their first institution, by equity, or the policy of the present constitution; and for that purpose I send you the following observations, not intirely new, but adapted to the present occasion.

MOST of the colleges in both universities were founded before the reformation, and during the most illiterate ages of christianity, when religion was little studied or understood, either by the people or their priests: The work to be done by the clergy was very great, and almost of infinite variety; not only in training up the people in a blind obedience to their hierarchical powers, but in the exercise of their superstitions, saying masses, and obits, attendances on processions, and for the performance of a prodigious number of offices, which their craftiness, and the mistaken piety of the laity, for many foregoing ages, had multiplied and mixed with religion.

FOR these vain parts of religion, the *statutes* which require taking of orders seem peculiarly calculated. For in many colleges the same members who are required to be in orders, are restrained from the exercise of that function in any other place except the college; and there the office expressly appointed them, is to assist in those prayers and offices which are directed perpetually to be

be continued for their founders, and other departed souls.

ANOTHER, and perhaps a principal view of the founders (who were chiefly ecclesiastics) in making these statutes, was the enriching the church; the clergy was then consider'd as an independent body separate from the state, and as they could not marry, the church was their heir; every one who entered into orders was not only an additional strength, but brought an encrease of riches to their sacred community.

It must also be observed, that in those times the clergy were not confined to offices relating to their function, but filled many civil employments. We find them in those times continually in the seat of justice, judges and chancellors, and sometimes in military stations; as the famous *William of Wickham*, who was the founder of two rich colleges, was at the same time bishop of *Winchester*, and governor of the king's works and forts; and the founders doubtless hoped, by confining learning as much as they could to the clergy, to make them the more necessary to fill the great offices of state.

It is visible that these reasons, however strongly they might influence the founders to make these statutes, do now no longer subsist. The church of *England*, by discarding all the fopperies of the *Roman Catholic* religion, has mightily lessened the employment of

of the clergy; so that much fewer persons are now necessary to be ordained for the Ministry; and the clergy are now so numerous, and eminent in all parts of learning, that there is no longer any occasion for pressing persons into orders. Their complaint seems rather to be a deficiency of maintenance than of numbers. We find no employments now vacant for want of persons to fill them; nor can the riches of the church be at all encreased by their encrease of numbers.

THE trade which followed the reformation has open'd many ways to employ beneficially many hands; who, if we had remained in superstition and ignorance, must have been lifted up only in vain invocations to saints and prayers for the dead; and yet men must still be pressed into the priesthood as formerly, without any expectation of being useful to the public by it, or of maintaining themselves.

Is it of service either to religion, or the state, that men who have had a liberal education, and are capable of serving their country in many capacities, should be restrained, at all adventures, from being useful in any way but one; and that such a one too, wherein they will find so great a number of fellow-labourers and competitors, that very many must be supernumerary and useless?

THE consequence of too numerous a clergy is, that their number makes them poor, their

their poverty makes them mean, and their meanness draws a reproach not only on themselves, but on the order itself; whereas, a less numerous clergy might find a decent and comfortable maintenance.

It ought to be observed, that there is some inconveniency to be apprehended both to church and state, from a number of persons of habitual application and attention to study, frequently of an active and enterprising genius, who are excluded from all secular employments by the sanctity of their orders, and from the church as supernumeraries. Such mens ambition or necessity may tempt them to enterprizes very prejudicial to the public.

In any other profession it is plain, that if a greater number embark in it than can be employed or maintained by it, the supernumeraries must be a burthen to the commonwealth, as well as corrupt and disgrace the profession itself.

NEXT to religion, nothing is more honourable or beneficial in a state than the law; nothing more necessary than a convenient number of men learned in that profession, for the administration of justice and the preservation of peace. Yet, who is not sensible, that if there are more engaged in that profession than can find a fair subsistence in honourable and just methods, the necessity of many of them will put them upon base arts; such as multiplying and delaying

laying suits, promoting fraud, perplexing the clearest right, and filling the body of the law with artifice and chicanerie. Hence were laws formerly made for regulating the number of attorneys, and since, for letting none practice but those regularly admitted, &c.

THE reason of this argument might be enforced by instances in every profession and trade ; and if this be admitted, it should seem very unnecessary to have a press for the service of the priesthood, at a time when so many throw themselves upon that order voluntarily, and that a great number of them cannot be employ'd worthily, and are not maintain'd decently.

LET us reflect on the state of the *Roman Catholic* church, at the time of the making these statutes ; the corruption of faith and doctrine, the vanities and fopperies with which the worship of God was polluted, and the whole œconomy of the most curious priestcraft which then prevail'd, and was the foundation of an hierarchy most glorious for riches, power, and outward splendour, but utterly inconsistent with the true purposes of religion, introductory of the darkest ignorance, and the utmost depravity of manners. What more strongly contributed to produce these mischiefs, than the numberless host of regular clergy, which at that time filled every corner of the earth ; watching every opportunity of suggesting and insinuating
super-

superstitious doctrines, which made for their own gain ; taking the advantage of every man's weak hour to gripe somewhat for the maintaining of himself, and of a tribe of other ecclesiastics, who were vastly more numerous than could be maintained by justifiable methods.

HENCE was religion made a trade ; and instead of reason, persuasion and exemplary lives, were introduced poor monkish tricks in imitation of miracles, or as occasion offered, greater vilanies, murders and massacres. Ambition and necessity prompted, and number and power protected them in every wickedness.

I would add, that the form of ordination appointed by our law, renders the statutes peculiarly prophane. For is it not so for men to declare that they take orders by the call of Christ, and by the inward impulse of the Holy Ghost, for the promotion of God's glory and service, who have nothing else in view but the saving a poor fellowship ; who have no view future or present of doing God glory, or religion or themselves service in that character ; who never affect nor endeavour to be useful in that character they assume, but spend an idle life in a cloyster, where they were bred, and at last lay their bones there ?

WHAT benefits now have we from the continuance of these statutes, to compensate these mischiefs ? Is there any fear of a deficiency

ficiency of the clergy, to supply the duties of their profession? Or does the obliging the fellows of colleges to take orders against their inclinations, and to prophane them by a solemn attestation, that they do it by an inward impulse of the Holy Ghost, peculiarly fit them for the education of the youth of this kingdom? Does it contribute to the honour of our clergy, or the interest of the church? Are these statutes constantly observed, or loosely executed? Are they a preservation of peace and good harmony in these learned bodies, or are they the cause of disputes and uneasiness, idleness, usurpation and dependance? I am,

S I R,

Your constant Reader,

And humble Servant,

OXONIENSIS.

NUMB.

N U M B. LXXVI.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

I HAVE, for a long time, observed with pleasure the great pains you have taken to root out *popular* prejudices, and inspire your countrymen and *fellow-protestants* with just and generous sentiments. You have asserted the cause of religious and civil liberty on the most solid principles, and exposed the unchristian complexion of bigotry, and the native baseness and infamy of persecution. You have stripped artifice and craft of their disguises; exploded solemn trick and mystery; and guarded against the *magical* and pernicious influence of *consecrated* and *infatuating* sounds. And I hope, Sir, you will have the satisfaction to find, that you have contributed not a little to break the *enchantment* by which so many thousands have been for ages stupified, and lost the use of their senses: and that the mere name of a *bishop* (which you have shewn is applied to such a variety of *worldly* offices) will no longer be thought to imply in it necessarily *religious* supremacy, *heavenly* ambassadorship, *spiritual* mystic rights,

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rights, the *keys* of St. *Peter*, the *sword* of St. *Paul*, or a power, *ex officio*, to confer divine qualifications, and *stamp indelible characters*: nor the word *church* be look'd upon as a *signal* from heaven to act in defiance of the laws of nature, and civil society; to be *factious* and *insolent*; to *rebel* and *persecute*; to *pull down* and to *destroy*. To your dissertation on the last of those terms, you might have added the following remarks, which I hope your readers will think to be both pertinent and natural.

First, THAT the word *church*, as it is used in the New Testament, sometimes denotes a CONVENTICLE. This, perhaps may startle the reader, and he may be apt to think me ludicrous: Let him then consider what truer idea he can form of *the church in the HOUSE of Philemon* *; *the church in the HOUSE of Nymphas* †; and other little churches, or private meetings, of the same sort, which are hinted at in St. *Paul's* epistles. We may carry this observation a great deal farther, and add (2dly) That the religious assemblies of the *primitive christians*, for the first hundred years after Christ at least, could, generally speaking, be nothing else but mere CONVENTICLES. They had, indeed, all the *characteristic marks*, all the necessary ingredients, that constitute and discriminate our *modern conventicles*. — For are the modern

* *Ep. to Philem. ver. 2.*

† *Col. 4. 15.*

conventicles kept in private houses, where the divine virtue of *episcopal consecration* never entered ; and which have neither *altars*, nor *graven images*, nor *altar-pieces* to excite devotion? — So were *they*. Are *modern conventicles* congregations of *separatists*, differing from the established church? — So again were they. Are *modern conventicles* held contrary to *law*? — The case of the *first christian churches* was the *same*. Are *modern conventicles* branded as *factious* and *seditionous* assemblies? — Thus *it was in the beginning*. But here the parallel fails. The genius and sentiments of the present and of ancient times, and of consequence their *language*, differ. For the word *conventicle*, which has in itself a very innocent meaning, was heretofore so far from being considered as a term of reproach and infamy that christians themselves called their own churches by the name of *conventicles*. This is plain from the following testimony of *Arnobius*, a christian writer and apologist in the reign of the emperor *Dioclesian*, about three hundred years after Christ; who, in his fourth book *against the Gentiles*, has these words: — *Nostra quidem scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari? cur immaniter CONVENTICULA dirui? In quibus summus oratur deus.* — i. e. ‘ Why do our books deserve to be committed to the flames? Why our *conventicles* or churches (in which the supreme God is worshiped) to be cruelly

‘pull’d down and destroy’d?’ *Lactantius* likewise, giving an account of the barbarous persecutions which the christians suffer’d, and of the inhuman and savage disposition of their enemies, speaks of *one* in *Phrygia*, *qui universum populum, cum ipso pariter CONVENTICULO, concremavit*, i. e. ‘Who, together with the *conventicle*, or church itself, burnt the whole congregation.’—

And the natural conclusion from all that has been offer’d is this, that if the word *conventicle* had in these early ages a bad sense (when applied to christian assemblies) it was only among *heathens*, and *persecutors*: In the use of which low *cant* I shall make no scruple to allow warm and transported ecclesiastics to be their undoubted, and, if they please, their *lineal* successors. Indeed the *line* of *scandal* reaches much higher; and may be traced, through every distinct period, with a great deal more ease and certainty, than either the *uninterrupted succession of regular orders* derived from the *apostles*, or, which exactly tallies with it, the *line* of *primogeniture* from the eldest son of *Noah*.

FROM churches and conventicles one of the shortest steps we can take is, to consider the character of a *FANATIC*. Of the two, indeed, it has a nearer relation to the *church* than it has to the *conventicle*. But as I propose to be strictly impartial, that shall not hinder me from endeavouring to do the *fanatic*

fanatic justice by restoring him to his due honour, and the *rank* which he originally held, though, of late years, he has been most contumeliously *degraded*; and in the reign of king *Charles* the second, of *chaste* and *pious* memory, was thrust out of all consecrated places where the *better sort* assembled, to do penance in *unhallowed* garrets and barns.

THE word *fanatic* is derived from *fanum*, which signifies *a temple*, or, in modern stile, *a church*. The character of a *fanatic* therefore, according to the most obvious and easy account that can be given of it, answers pretty exactly to that of a *high-churchman*. But because *fanaticism* was always reckon'd to be attended with some symptoms of *madness*, with a kind of enthusiastic *delirium*, with extravagant transports and *flights* of wild and *high-fermented* zeal, and very frequently with *raving fits*; a *fanatic* may be justly stiled a *high-flyer*; and most emphatically, and by way of eminence, one that runs *mad* for the church; that *frets* and *fumes*, is agitated by strong *convulsions*, *rages*, *swears*, *fight*s, and *cur*ses for the church. This *furor fanaticus*, or *fanatic fury* (as the ancients called it) is easily communicated by the proper commission'd officers to the passive multitude, among whom it soon grows excessively *turbulent*, and breaks out into *riots* and *public disorders*.

OF these *mad* and *hair-brain'd* churchmen, history furnishes us with many examples under all religions. The *Jewish fanatics* were those the prophet speaks of, who were continually crying out, *the TEMPLE of the Lord! the TEMPLE of the Lord!* and seem'd to think, that there was so much merit in their blind and boisterous zeal for the *temple*, as must atone for the grossest immoralities. A remarkable instance of *Pagan fanatics* we have in the *craftsmen* and *mob* of *Ephesus*; who being *full of wrath*, and enthusiastically inspired to maintain, at all adventures, the sacred honours of *Diana's* temple, confuted all *St. Paul's* reasonings by a loud and outrageous clamour for about the space of *two hours* together, of — great is *Diana of the Ephesians*. And *Juvenal*, the famous *Roman* satyrift, speaks of a person, whom he stiles *fanaticus antistes*, the *fanatic prelate*, or *high-priest* of *Cybele*.

BUT as these examples may be thought too remote and *obsolete*, let us descend to later times; in which it is easy to specify several sorts of *fanatics*, which will be immediately known not to be fictions, but real and *living* characters. 1st, There is the *simple* fanatic, who believes that *the Lord of heaven and earth dwelleth in temples made with hands*; and that as soon as he is enclosed within the walls of the *church*, the place on which he standeth is *HOLY ground*.

(2dly)

(2dly) There is the *jovial* fanatic, who makes use of the church's name to *fill a bumper*, and make *the wine circulate*: His motto is, CHURCH AND KING; which, by the way, strongly indicates the malignity of the *distemper* with which he is infected, and especially here in *England*, where the king is acknowledged to be *supreme head of the church*; because it is in effect *setting the body upon the head*; or, as the witty author of a *meditation upon a broomstick* expresses it, placing *the head where the heels should be*. Besides these, there is the *incendiary*-fanatic, who, whenever he hears of liberty of conscience, and the use of reason in matters of religion, of reforming abuses, and restraining ecclesiastical insolence and tyranny, sounds the alarm that *the church is in danger*. The last I shall mention is, the *morose, stern, and sower* fanatic, who, in *protestant* countries, is either for *pecuniary mulcts*, or oppressive *disqualifying* laws; but, where *Poper*y prevails, *thirsts for blood*; and is an advocate for such execrable cruelties, as are both *reproachful* and *shocking* to human nature. — As for those who are mad *against* the church, and vent their zeal in acts of *confusion* and *violence*, I think their proper title is that of *anti-fanatics*; for which reason, tho' they are extremely dangerous and mischievous in their way, I must leave them for the present,

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sent, as not falling within the design of this
essay. I am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

THE author of the *Weekly Miscellany* has had the face to write in defence of pluralities, and even to advertise his paper under that title. Possibly it may not be long before I send you some animadversions on it. In the mean while please to lay before your readers the following sentiments of a devout and laborious prelate of the church of *England* concerning that matter.

“ I do not enter into the scandalous practice
“ of non-residence and pluralities, which
“ are sheltered by so many colours of law
“ among us ; whereas the church of *Rome*,
“ from whence we had those and many o-
“ ther abuses, has freed herself from this,
“ under which we still labour, to our great
“ and just reproach. This is so shameful
“ a prophanation of holy things, that it
“ ought to be treated with detestation and
“ horror. Do such men think on the vow
“ they made at their ordination, on the rules
“ in

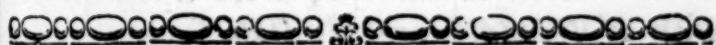
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" in the scriptures, or on the nature of
 " their function, or that it is a care of souls?
 " How long shall this be the peculiar dis-
 " grace of our church, which, for what I
 " know, is the only church in the world
 " that tolerates it! I must add, that I do
 " not reckon the holding poor livings that
 " lie contiguous, a plurality, where both
 " are looked after, and both afford only
 " a competent maintenance. I am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

Bishop Burnet Hist. of his own Time, Vol. 2. p. 646.



N U M B. LXXVII.

THERE is scarce any art, either of
 antient or modern invention, that just-
 ly claims such high honours, on account of
 its admirable and extensive advantages, as
 the art or *mystery* of *printing*. It is justly
 called a *mystery*, because it had lain con-
 ceal'd for ages, and was at last discover'd in
 one of the most *critical* periods in the his-
 tory of mankind, when the circumstances of
 the world, and the important consequences
 it would naturally draw after it, render'd it
 eminently necessary, and almost the *only*
expedi-

expedient that could be provided, to prevent the perpetual establishment of ignorance and barbarity.

IN the times immediately preceding the reformation, a thick, and next to total, darkness had overspread all *christendom*; in consequence of which, *church-power* was risen to a most stupendous and enormous height; christianity was quite defaced by unnatural and spurious additions, and lay buried so deep under a heap of *legends* and *ecclesiastical fables*, that there was hardly any prospect of its being ever recover'd to its primitive simplicity and vigour; superstitions of the most monstrous kind were greedily received and practised; the common people, in all nations of *Europe*, were upon a level with *Hottentots* and *Indian savages*; and their priests were little better: so that the chief difference that subsisted between them was this, that the latter had usurped an insolent and tyrannical *dominion*, and the former were depressed to a state of enthusiastic and most abject *slavery*. The one enjoy'd the *triumphs*, and the other wore the *chains*, of ignorance; who reign'd absolute and uncontroll'd, having *churchmen* for her *prime ministers*, and the *guards* that surrounded and fenced her throne. But just about the time when the seeds of light and reformation were first sown, particularly in *England* and *Germany*, and the *papal* power had received several fatal shocks through the jealousies and

com.

competitions of contending princes, the use of *printing* was introduced, as the natural and fittest means of compleating this desirable work, and carrying it on to a greater perfection. This curious art was at first admired and encouraged for its *novelty* and *ingenuity*; *princes* were its patrons; men of learning and superior abilities were inspired with a generous emulation of excelling each other; they had stronger motives to a diligent pursuit of their studies, from the prospect of being more *extensively* serviceable in their own times, and transmitting useful knowledge to future generations; and were animated besides by the hope of acquiring, instead of a *present* confined and precarious fame, lasting honour, and a kind of *immortality* by their writings. And accordingly *science* actually revived, and *darkness* and *superstition* fled before it; an *inquisitive* temper gained ground, and *error* was detected, and stripped of its venerable disguises.

THE reason why I have been so large in these remarks is this, that whoever allows a *particular* direction of providence in any cases, that nearly concern the happiness of mankind, will see reason, if he carefully considers every circumstance, to admit it *here*; the invention of *printing* being just at that juncture, when it might be highly instrumental in breaking the most heavy yoke of oppression under which the church of God,
and

and civil societies, had ever groaned, and in restoring and propagating christian *truth*, and *liberty*. From whence it necessarily follows, that all attempts to *destroy*, or *restrain*, the *liberty of the press*, are acts of notorious ingratitude to providence, and, in effect, opposing the hand and watchful care of heaven, which has pointed out this as the most apt and effectual means of improving and enlarging the human understanding. For he that neglects the proper ways of *cultivating* his reason, which are plainly mark'd out for him in the visible course and order of things, neglects the *use* of reason itself; and is justly chargeable with suppressing and extinguishing the dictates of *natural light*. And as it has been acknowledged by almost every sober and considerate writer on the subject, that the glorious reformation from Popery could not be thoroughly accomplish'd and compleated *all at once*; if any set themselves industriously to disgrace the means by which it was at first carry'd on, and the *only means* by which it can ever be perfected—what is this but being *tools* and *drudges* for the enemy, and supplanting the *protestant* cause?—Let us now enter a little more distinctly into the reason of the thing.

IN the first place, then, the *liberty of the press* is one of the chief and strongest barriers of the liberties of nations, and churches. It helps us to settle clearly the
proper

proper boundaries of *power*, and the just measures of *subjection*; and leaves a way open for exposing *slavish* principles, and the groundless and arrogant presumption of those, who, in any shape, or upon the most specious pretences, claim an *uncontrouled* and *arbitrary* dominion over natural property, or the special rights of conscience. It is the means of unveiling, and discovering to public view, the most *artful* schemes of tyranny; and lets the body of the people, who are naturally apt to be too indolent and secure, into the most *secret* and *crafty* designs that are formed for undermining their liberties: Which excites in them a noble spirit of *self-defence*, and frequently checks the insolence, and strikes *terror* into the hearts, of tyrants. The truth of these observations is undeniably confirmed by the history of our own nation. For what had a greater share in preparing the way for the late glorious *revolution*, (from whence we may date the establishment of all the valuable rights we enjoy, both as *Englishmen* and *Protestants*) than those free and judicious discourses on *government*, and against the superstitions and oppressions of the church of *Rome*, which were printed and published in the two preceding reigns? And, indeed, this alone shews the vast importance of *the branch* of *liberty* we are now contending for, and its inseparable connection with *all others*, that aspiring *churchmen*,
and

and corrupt *ministers* of state, have always been its bitterest enemies ; as well knowing, that if the common herd of subjects could be kept entirely in the dark, and from being alarmed by a sense of danger, they might be the more easily brought to fall down and adore the *purple*, or swallow the absurd doctrines of *indefeasible hereditary right*, and *unlimited passive obedience*.

2dly, *THE liberty of the press* is the most effectual method to propagate and preserve truth ; which can never suffer, unless it has very unskilful defenders, by any opposition that is made to it. On the contrary, the more it is debated, the more it is likely to prevail and triumph ; the more thoroughly it is examined into, its *evidence* and *authority* must appear more strong and unquestionable ; *objections* against it will be disarmed of all their force ; every one of its *proofs* will be more fully illustrated and confirmed ; and after it has stood the severest *trials*, there must, in the nature of things, be a foundation laid for our embracing it more *firmly*, and, of consequence, for its having a more *lively* and *powerful* influence. 'Tis the property of *error* alone to shun the light, and seek for shelter in *implicit faith* : but to assert this to be the natural *refuge* and *support* of *truth* debases and blemishes its excellency.

— BUT are not pestilent and damnable heresies, are not wild and monstrous opinions, prejudicial to morality, to good manners, to

religion, and civil government, vented and dispersed by *the press*? Suppose they are: Is not the *press* open for proper *antidotes* against this poison? Is it not as open for confuting, as for broaching, heresies? and for shewing the malignity and infamy of the extravagant and pernicious principles so justly complained of? And is not this an easy task for the learned and judicious pens, that always abound amongst us? Does it not afford an opportunity to the *reverend clergy* in particular, to display their skill and zeal in the defence of virtue and true religion, and their *loyalty* and *duty* to their superiors? Of what then should we be afraid? — All this, it may be replied, is true in the main; but yet it often happens, that some are *infected* by the contagion of these heresies and fatal errors.—To which I answer, that this is only an *accidental* abuse, to which the *best* things in the world are liable. For is not *reason* it self abused? Are not the *holy scriptures* abused? Has not the *priesthood*; has not *kingly power*; nay, have not all human *governing powers* been as wickedly and shamefully abused, as ever the liberty of the press was? But is *reason* therefore not to be consulted? Are the *scriptures* not to be read? Are *priests* not to be tolerated? Or are we to live without *kings*, or any other form of *civil government*? Such *violent remedies* will, surely, be allowed to be worse than the disease. 'Tis enough that the liberty of the
 press

press does not *naturally* and *directly* produce the evils that are objected to it ; but that the *genuine* and *immediate* tendency of it is to banish error and imposture of all kinds, and establish the empire of truth without a rival. Whereas, if this liberty be destroyed, or arbitrarily *restrained*, this is, in effect, saying to truth—Keep where thou art, *hitherto shalt thou go, and no farther*; and error will for ever remain seated on its throne of *darkness*, without the least dawning hope, or even possibility, of a reformation.

BESIDES, if the project of restraining the press was thought fit to take place, to whom must the care and *oversight* of it be committed?—Shall we trust it with *ecclesiastics*?—What may *then* be expected? Why, that every thing will be prohibited, *right* or *wrong*, that contradicts their favourite *creeds*, and ambitious thirst after *power*.—Shall we trust it with *politicians*? Yes! if we think it adviseable that all books and writings should be suppress'd, that do not suit the complexion of *courts*, and an iniquitous *Machiavelian* craft. Or if we lodge the management of this important affair with the *creatures* of *churchmen*, and the *parasites* and *tools* of *ministers* of *state*, the case will be exactly the same ; and therefore I need not mention this as a distinct article. But to whom else can it be committed, who can be supposed to have *any share* in conducting *public* affairs? To none.—The consequence, there-

therefore, is plainly this, that if we undertake to *restrain* the liberty of the press, as the world is at present govern'd, we must *destroy* it altogether ; so far, at least, as it has any relation either to the cause of *christianity*, or to that of *religious* and *civil liberty*.

I shall only add two observations more : The one is, that *abridging the liberty of the press* is the most natural and commodious project that can be framed for the restoration of *popery* : in order to which nothing more is necessary, by way of *preparation*, than to put out peoples eyes, and keep them blind and stupid. For those, who are the most entirely destitute of *good principles*, are always most readily disposed to imbibe and espouse *bad* ones. The second remark is this, that *restraining the liberty of the press*, in debates about *religion* and *politics*, directly tends to impose the same restraint with respect to *philosophy*, and in all matters of *science* whatsoever. For our public guides and directors may reason thus : that the surest way to prevent mens *thinking contrary* to establish'd truth or error, (whichsoever it be) is to discourage their *thinking at all*; and the surest way for them not to dispute *the religion of their ancestors*, is to teach them to dispute *nothing* : And farther, that the curiosity of the human intellect, and wanton insolence of reasoning, in points of *philosophy*, may, in the

end, be applied to the venerable mysteries of *religion*, and then — *all is lost*; or to the arcana, the deep intrigues, of *politics*, and then — *we are equally undone*. — And upon a foundation somewhat like this, there was a time, when asserting the *antipodes* was voted to be *heresy*, and pleading for the *motion of the earth* was thought a crime worthy of the *inquisition*. Nay, of late years, Mr. LOCKE's *Essay on Human Understanding*, one of the best books in philosophy that was ever wrote (and the author of which was an ornament to his country, and to the age he lived in) was condemn'd as an *unsound piece*, and contrary to the *orthodox faith*. Many still *rave* in the same strain; from whence 'tis plain, that, in their opinion, free debates about *religion*, *government*, and *philosophy*, ought to share one common fate. And thus far, indeed, they are in the right, that either the press should be *entirely restrain'd*; or *universally free*; and that mankind should be either allow'd to improve their knowledge in *all points*, so far as their faculties will reach; or be reduc'd and confin'd to a state of total *stupidity* and *barbarism*.

N U M B. LXXVIII.

REASONS for a law to oblige spiritual persons and bodies politic to renew their leases for customary and reasonable fines.

AN unalienable property, or, as the law calls it, an estate in *mortmain*, seem'd so unreasonable in its nature, and so dangerous to the state, that our ancestors, with great wisdom, made many laws, sometimes to prevent, sometimes to regulate, and sometimes even to resume possessions of this sort. Which laws in general, as they were reasonable, were also popular; and the persons who opposed them, for the interest of the little bodies politic, of which they were members, and who might be affected by them, were consider'd rather as members of clubs, than of the commonwealth.

BUT when laws of this nature have affected corporations ecclesiastical, we find they have sometimes been unacceptable to the clergy; not from any views of self-interest, but as they considered every possession of their own, as the possession of the church, and appropriated to the service of God; so that the taking away, or limiting, any part of what they enjoy, or the restrain-

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ing

ing their means of making new acquisitions, is considered as an injury to the church, and an insult on heaven.

DR. *Prideaux* has learnedly shewn, that whatsoever was appropriated to the idols of the heathen was sacred, since the intention of the giver was to dedicate it to heaven; and supposes a whole army to have been destroy'd for plundering the temple of *Apollo*.

AND the learned Sir *H. Spelman* has, in a most elaborate treatise on sacrilege, shewn the vengeance of heaven pursuing the inheritors of the estates which were heretofore possess'd by the monks and abbots in this kingdom.

HAVING a great tenderness and veneration for this reverend and powerful body, I was very glad to find the bill which pass'd the last sessions, for restraining the alienation of lands in *mortmain*, was as agreeable to their interest, as to my own sentiments of policy and justice.

THO' I own myself to have been always an advocate for that bill, yet my zeal for it was greatly increased, when I found by the debate of a noble lord, that the reverend clergy were already in possession of a plentiful subsistence; and that the passing the law then in debate would secure them in it from any resumption, which a too zealous pursuit and improvident increase of wealth might endanger.

I own, the satisfaction which I found from this consideration has of late been somewhat diminished, by reports which have been invidiously spread abroad, as if the clergy, dissatisfied with being debarred from any means of acquiring new estates, were resolved to make the most of the old ; and that the possessions of their tenants were to compensate the disappointments of their landlords.

SOME complaints have been made of grievous exactions of fines for the renewal of leases, far beyond the customary proportion ; and some of absolute refusals, to renew on any terms, at the expiration of their leases.

I cannot, I own, suppose that our clergy have given any cause for such reports, especially at this time, when infidelity is making so great a progress ; when their persons, and even their sacred character are too apt to be made the subject of ridicule ; when, as the *Miscellanist* well observes, the contagion spreads even from the nobleman to the footman : I can't, I say, think it possible to believe, that our clergy will conspire with their enemies in taking away the remains of their popularity, and trust only to their riches and power for their support. I own, if that was to be the case, I should soon apprehend a resumption ; for neither the policy, nor the temper of the *English* would bear to have half a dozen of our bishoprics equal

230 *The OLD WHIG.* No 78,
in value, each of them, to the fee of *Ten*
shillings.

BUT however unreasonable such reports and apprehensions may be, since they are become general, I hope, for their security and honour, some of their friends will propose a bill for the ascertaining of fines to be taken by all bodies corporate, whether sole or aggregate, for the renewals of leases. And since a bill of this nature, tho' it has long been desired by the wisest friends of our constitution, may meet with some objections, not only from infidels and enemies of our establishment, but even from some well-meaning persons, who are zealously attached to it ; I shall endeavour to shew such a bill to be reasonable, agreeable to our constitution, and conformable to the sentiments of our church, as expressed by its bishops and most zealous members.

THE convenience that will arise from the quieting so many persons in their possessions, by long custom become hereditary, purchased almost as dear as freeholds, from the confidence reposed in their landlords of renewals on customary terms; and not only purchased at great prices, but improved by great industry and expence : And on the contrary, the inconvenience which will arise from the rendering their possessions precarious ; the waste of lands, dilapidations of houses; the discouragement to industry ; the ruin of numerous families, now useful to the state,
who

who in the case supposed, must become a burden to it: These and many more reasons of equal weight, shew the fitness of such a law. Nor do I think the increase of the revenues of the church, even to ten times their present value, (which I will admit may be the case, if leases are permitted to expire, and rack-rents to be taken) how desirable so ever it may be, would be an equivalent for so many and so great inconveniencies.

I know I shall be told, that this law would be an invasion of private property; and tho' never so many conveniencies might arise from it, 'tis therefore to be rejected as unjust.

LET the objector consider, the statutes of limitations were all invasions of private property; equally so at least with the law now proposed; but the good proposed to the whole commonwealth, by the quieting of men in their possessions, was thought to deserve the attention of the legislature much more than the loss which a few private persons might receive. The reason is the same for bills to make rivers navigable; for highways, and many other cases where private property gives place to public utility. And the equity of these laws is obvious; for since the enjoyment of private property arises from the consent and protection of the state, the necessity of the state must always be the primary consideration. 'Tis true, that the public, in such cases, make all the satisfaction

which can be reasonably supposed in their power, to persons whose property they have thus occasion to apply to public use ; and their reason for so doing is too obvious to mention.

BUT to our objector, who is ready to ask a reason why should not bodies corporate have the same dominion over their estates, which private persons have over theirs ? The answer is plain, they are not private estates, but the revenues of the public ; trusted in their hands, or given them for a particular use. Private persons acquire a particular property by their labour and industry ; and natural justice requires the application of it to the maintenance of their posterity ; the services which acquired the estate are performed, and there is no condition subsequent.

THE case is far different in bodies politic ; they are the creatures of the state ; they exist for its service, and may be dissolved at its pleasure ; their estates and revenues are given for particular uses and services, and are to be proportioned to the uses designed ; the right of their perpetual succession is a meer chimera, a sound to which no idea can be annexed. And the right of every individual member of a body corporate to any possession of the corporation, can continue no longer than his relation to the corporation ; that is, during his service ; or it is a life estate at most.

FOR

FOR this reason it is, that a freehold possessed by virtue of an office for life, as a bishopric, does not endow the wife, nor is it forfeited for felony or treason; for the inheritance is in the state; and the incumbent only intitled to the *usus fructuum*; and the reversion being in the public, may therefore be disposed of as the public shall think proper, and even the possession; making a reasonable satisfaction for the loss any private person shall sustain thereby.

WHETHER the public can make a better disposition of their interest, than by giving it those whose industry has improved, and in some cases created it, and who have enjoyed it by long custom, and by the loss of it will be intirely undone, I submit to their wisdom.

THAT our legislature has oft thought proper to interfere, in regulating the revenues of bodies politic, and particularly ecclesiastic, I could produce innumerable instances. I shall content my self with a few. The dissolution of abbies and of the knights templars, &c. the resumption of their possessions, are too notorious to take up the time of the reader; I would rather mention such as may have escaped his notice, and have never been objected to.

THE parsons, vicars, and other spiritual persons in the arch-deaconry of *Richmond* in the county of *York*, had a custom of taking, in the name of a portion or pension, a ninth
part

part of the goods and chattels of every person dying within their jurisdiction, and sometimes a third part.

THIS revenue or estate of these spiritual persons was taken away by the statute made 26 *Hen.* 8 chap. 15. and the reason given for it is, “ That the custom was to the open
 “ and manifest impoverishing of most of all
 “ the king’s poor subjects inhabiting and
 “ dying in that jurisdiction.”

By the statute made in the first year of queen *Eliz.* c. 22. the queen had power given her, during her life, “ To make and
 “ prescribe unto every collegiate church,
 “ and other ecclesiastical incorporation, and
 “ school, founded by *Hen.* the 8th, queen
 “ *Mary*, and by the lord cardinal *Poole*,
 “ and unto all and every the officers, mi-
 “ nisters, and scholars in them, or any of
 “ them, and to their successors for ever,
 “ such statutes, ordinances and orders, as
 “ well for the order of their service, mini-
 “ stry, functions, and duties; as also for
 “ their HOUSES, LANDS, TENTHS,
 “ REVENUES, AND HEREDITAMENTS;
 “ and further, That her majesty shall, and
 “ may, at her pleasure, alter, change, aug-
 “ ment, or diminish all and every the sta-
 “ tutes, ordinances and orders of the afore-
 “ said churches, corporations, and schools,
 “ from time to time, as to her majesty shall
 “ seem sufficient ” And the statute farther
 obliges the observation of such statutes, or-
 ders, and ordinances for ever. I

I must here observe, that a decree entered in the court of *York* and elsewhere in this reign (as we find it recited in *Rushworth*) did ascertain the tenant's right of renewal of leases with favour, in respect of their tenant right, which renewal therefore in this reign was thought by law an equitable right; and if the queen, by any rules or orders made by the authority of the statute last recited, had settled the rights of renewal of the lands mentioned in that law for ever, I don't see how the legality or equity of her orders could have admitted of dispute.

I must also take notice, that where agreements have actually been made by the tenants, which the legislature thought burthensome, laws have been made for their relief; as appears by the statute made in the 26th of *Henry VIII. c. 17.* which gives the first fruits and tenths to the crown; which statute enacts; "That no farmer or spiritual persons should be compelled to pay the first fruits or yearly pension granted to the king's highness, notwithstanding any covenant, contract, bond, or other thing made to the contrary."

By the above recited statutes (without troubling the reader with a plurality of instances of the same nature) it sufficiently appears, that the legislature has, from time to time, interposed in the disposal of ecclesiastical revenues, altering them, or even taking them away, as it appeared to them reasonable,

ble; and even interposing between the landlord and tenant, to relieve the tenant against his own agreement.

I might proceed to shew the regard the law has to tenant right, when establish'd by long usage; but as the whole affair of customary estates is learnedly and clearly explained in a small treatise, under the name of *Everard Fleetwood, Esq*; which has lately been republished, I shall choose to refer the reader to it for his full satisfaction on that head; and doubt not but he will see clearly that all our copyhold and customary estates of *England* have no other title but what the legislature gave them in consideration of their length of possession; the equity of their claim, who had cultivated and improved their lands, to enjoy the fruits of their labour; and that the lord would be no real sufferer, whilst his customary rents and services were paid. The law, in obliging him to accept of customary and reasonable fines, deprived him of nothing but a power of oppression, and of possessing himself of the profit arising from the industry of others.

N U M B. LXXIX.

A continuation of the REASONS for a law to oblige spiritual persons and bodies politic to renew their leases for customary and reasonable fines.

PERSONS used to make distinctions in cases where there is no real difference in reason, object, that the case of copyhold or customary tenants, is by no means parallel to the case of leaseholders renewing their leases from time to time. For, admitting the interest of lords of manors and of the lessor to be coeval, and that the lessees had, by a series of renewals, continued in possession as long as the copyholder, by virtue of his admittance; yet it would not prove an equality of right in the lessee; since the acceptance of every lease was a confession, that he who accepted it had no right but by virtue of the lease, which was temporary, and could therefore never support a plea of prescription; besides, that the alteration of the terms of the leases from time to time, was a proof that the terms of the renewal were in the breast of the lessor.

LET the objector consider if this was not equally the plea of the lord of the manor against his copyhold tenant; every admittance

tance was only an agreement for the life of the tenant, and the fines were not certain, but in the breast of the lord; and many remain so, only with this restriction by the law as it now stands, that the fines shall be such as the law deems reasonable, which is all I plead for in behalf of the lessees.

BUT to put this matter beyond controversy, I will recommend to the reader the perusal of some acts of parliament, even of a very modern date, which have been made in favour of leaseholders, in cases absolutely parallel with the present, in which the rights of the crown itself were concern'd; I mean those acts which have been made in every reign, from that of *Q. Eliz.* to that of his present majesty, in behalf of the leasehold tenants of the dutchy of *Cornwall*, which are, stat. 21 *Ja.* 1st. chap. 29. 1 *Car.* 1. c. 2. 13 *Car.* 2. c. 4. 22 *Car.* 2. c. 3. 1 *Ja.* 2. c. 9. 5 & 6 *William* and *Mary*, ch. 18. 12 *William* and *Mary*, ch. 13. 12 *A.* §. 2 ch. 22. 1 *G.* 1. ch. 37. §. 8. in almost every one of which, the right of the renewal of the tenant is asserted; and the king or duke of *Cornwall* is permitted to renew for reasonable rents reserved, which are declared not to be less than a twentieth part of the yearly value. The complaints of the tenants, who have been raised in their rents, are mention'd as just and reasonable; and they are enabled by law to compound for increased rent, and to be re-
stored.

stored to the old rents: And the suffering the leases to expire, is declared to be highly inconvenient and unreasonable. This is the sense of our laws in the case of the crown, the highest corporation, whose estates have always been held to be as sacred to the public, to say the least, as those before-mentioned; and tho' there was less reason to fear any prejudice could arise from their increase.

How much stronger would the argument be in the case of bodies politic, whose revenues were sufficient to answer the ends proposed by their constitution, and the ends for which their estates were given, and whose increase of revenue would be dangerous to the state?

NAY, suppose the estates of any corporation were actually increased, without prejudice to any person whatsoever, to a value far more than sufficient to answer the ends for which the state erected it; might not the legislature justly consider the surplus in the hands of the corporation as a *resulting trust* to be apply'd to the use of the state? Has not church-plate from time to time been appropriated for the public service? Are there not instances even where money given to the crown for public service has been returned, when it has been more than was necessary for the intended service?

THE sense of the bishops and friends of our church, on this subject, I choose to give
in

in their own words : Bishop *Burnet*, in his *History of his own Times*, p. 186. expresses himself as follows : He tells us, that in the year 1661, “ Almost all the leases of the
 “ church estates over *England* were fallen
 “ in ; there having been no renewal for
 “ twenty years : The leases for years were
 “ determin’d ; and the wars had carried off
 “ so many men, that most of the leases for
 “ lives were fallen into the incumbents
 “ hands ; so that the church estates were in
 “ them ; and the fines raised by renewing
 “ the leases, rose to about a million and a
 “ half. It was an unreasonable thing to let
 “ those who were now promoted, carry off
 “ so great a treasure.

“ If the half had been apply’d to the
 “ buying of tythes or glebes for small vi-
 “ carages, here a foundation had been laid
 “ down for a great and effectual reforma-
 “ tion. In some fees, forty or fifty thou-
 “ sand pounds were raised, and applied to
 “ the enriching bishops families. Something
 “ was done to churches and colleges, and
 “ in particular to St. *Paul’s* in *London* ; a
 “ noble collection was made for redeeming
 “ slaves that were in any part of *Barbary* ;
 “ but this fell far short of what might have
 “ been expected. In this the lord *Claren-*
 “ *don* was heavily charg’d, as having shewn,
 “ that he was more the bishops friend than
 “ the church’s. *It is true, the law made*
 “ *those fines belong to the incumbent ; but*
such

“ *such an extraordinary occasion deserved*
 “ *a LAW SHOULD HAVE BEEN MADE*
 “ *ON PURPOSE.*”

Note, I hear of no complaints made of any unreasonable or unusual fine taken on this occasion, much less of any refusal to renew. Yet only because the riches produced on this occasion, were an unreasonable reward for the service which the bishop was to do, or had done, our right reverend author concludes, a law ought to have been made to take them *from the persons possessed of them by law*, and to appropriate them to the public service. What would he have said to a project to raise the *annual* produce of the church estate to *this sum*, which he thinks so vastly unreasonable, tho’ the produce of twenty years.

THE sequel of his account of this transaction, tho’ in some sort a digression, the reader will think worth his notice. He gives it us in the following words :

“ *WHAT* the bishops did with those great
 “ *finer*, was a pattern to all the lower dig-
 “ *nitaries*, who generally took more care of
 “ *themselves* than the church. The men
 “ *of merit and service* were loaded with
 “ *many livings and dignities*. With this
 “ *great accession of wealth* there broke in
 “ *upon the church* a great deal of luxury
 “ *and high living*, on pretence of hospita-
 “ *lity* ; while others made purchases, and
 “ *left great estates*, most of which we have
 VOL. II. Q seen

“ seen melt away. And with this overfet
 “ of wealth and pomp, that came on men
 “ in the decline of their parts and age, they,
 “ who were now growing into old age, be-
 “ came lazy, and negligent of all true con-
 “ cerns of the church ; they left preaching
 “ and writing to others, while they gave
 “ themselves up to ease and sloth. In all
 “ which sad representation, some few ex-
 “ ceptions are to be made, but *so few, that*
 “ *if a new set of men had not appeared of*
 “ *another stamp, the church had quite lost*
 “ *her esteem all over the nation.*”

WHAT were the sentiments of the famous
 archbishop *Laud*, of the tenants right to re-
 new on reasonable terms, appears from his
 conduct in the council. The case we find
 in *Rushworth's Collections*, vol. 3. p. 1052.
Dr. Belcanqual, dean of *Durham*, complain-
 ed to the council of *George Grey* and *Anthony*
Smith, two of his tenants, for having got di-
 vers of the tenants of the dean and chapter,
 to set their hands to a complaint against the
 dean and chapter, without having first made
 known their grievances to the dean and chap-
 ter before they came up to complain. *Grey* and
Smith confessed their subscribing petitions ;
 but said, they had cause to complain, because
 the dean and chapter, contrary to a decree en-
 ter'd in the court of *York* and elsewhere, in
 the time of queen *Elizabeth*, had deman-
 ded greater fines than usually had been
 taken. The archbishop thought this accusa-
 tion

tion so false, and such a scandal on the dean and chapter, and so injurious to the honour of the church, that at his request, *Grey* and *Smith* were fined, and committed to the *Gatehouse*, where they lay till the meeting of the parliament delivered them.

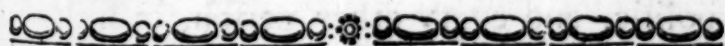
THE next authority I shall produce is, that of the reverend Dr. *Hacket*, made bishop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry* at the restoration. His zeal for the church, added to his great learning and judgment, occasioned his being unanimously chosen by the clergy to make their defence, in the year 1641, against the bill for taking away the government of the church by bishops, deans and chapters, &c. On this occasion, taking notice of the antiquity of the cathedral churches, and their possessions, which he tells us are the first monuments of christianity in *England*, he argues for their continuance, not only on their own account, but for the sake of their tenants, " who have, says he, prosper'd better, by holding leases from deans and chapters, than farmers elsewhere do prosper under incorporations over all the kingdom: And the tenants, continues he, are sensible of their own happiness herein, and have testified it from many places, by rendering their humble petitions to this honourable house, that they may continue as they have done under their ancient landlords; which, with all submission, we most humbly crave may be ad-

"mitted and perused by this honourable
 "house. And I cannot blame them to stir
 "in their own case; for good Accountants
 "have cast it up, that if all the lands of all
 "the cathedral and collegiate churches were
 "cast up into one total sum, at a reasonable
 "and fair pennyworth, not only in rents but
 "in fines, the tenants in clear rent do enjoy
 "six parts in seven at least; and we do not
 "grudge them this bargain, but are most
 "willing that our revenue should be dis-
 "persed into all the veins in the kingdom."

THIS was the sense of not a private per-
 son, but of the whole clergy, expressed by
 their advocate on this remarkable occasion;
 and I hope neither they nor their tenants
 have changed their minds, but that the same
 good harmony will always subsist, and we
 shall find them, on all occasions, petitioning
 in behalf of their landlords. For tho' the
 sevenfold increase of wealth which might
 accrue, by the raising the tenants to rack-
 rents, may appear a delicious morsel to some
 few of our well-meaning friends; tho' they
 might be pleased to see the church of *Tork*,
 by raising its rents, possessed of 65000 *l. per*
Ann. the church of *Durham* 85000 *l.* the
 church of *Carlisle* 45 or 50000 *l.* and the
 other churches in proportion; which might
 perhaps be the case, if the laity could be in-
 duced by a laudable zeal for religion, and
 reverence to the clergy, to acquiesce in it;
 yet such is the deplorable growth of infide-
 lity,

lity, that this one reflection will shew the reasonableness of the caution given by bishop *Burnet*, in the conclusion of his history, to the dignitaries of the church.

“ IF, says he, they abandon themselves
 “ to sloth and idleness; if they neglect their
 “ proper functions, and follow a secular, a
 “ vain, a covetous and luxurious course of
 “ life; if they (not content with educating
 “ their children well, and with such com-
 “ petency as will set them afloat in the
 “ world) think of building up their own
 “ houses, and raising great estates, they will
 “ put the world on many unacceptable in-
 “ quiries : Wherefore is this *waste* made?
 “ Why are these *revenues* continued to men
 “ who make such an ill use of them ? And
 “ why is an *order* kept up, that does the
 “ *church* so little good, and gives so much
 “ *scandal* ?



N U M B. LXXX.

THE tenderness and regard which I have shewn to the *clergy* in my papers concerning their renewal of *leases*, was, I hop'd, sufficient to have secured me from any displeasure from that reverend body on that account; and particularly as I had, in those papers, been cautious to comply with the claim which all their *writers*, who have ap-
 Q 3 peared

peared in defence of arbitrary fines, have made for them ; which is, being put on an equal foot with the laity in the same circumstances. The author of the *Rights of the Churches and Colleges*, who is doubtless as zealous a defender of arbitrary fines as has appeared, ventur'd to promise, " That if
 " the legislature shall ever think proper to
 " make a general law to ascertain the fines
 " and conditions of leases, ecclesiastical land-
 " lords will not desire to be excepted from
 " it, but will be very willing to have their
 " rights put upon the same foot with those
 " of their fellow-subjects:" (*vide* p. 7.)
 and this only have I contended for, that what they enjoy in their *natural* capacity, they should have as ample and unlimited as any other person whatsoever ; and that what they enjoy in their *political* or *spiritual* capacity, should be subject to the same law and rule which is proposed for all other bodies politic, and every other person, in his *political* capacity ; whose existence being owing to the will of the state, they can have no reason to continue in being but the benefit of the state, nor any property in their political capacity, but on terms which may without any injustice be limited, regulated, diminished, or extinguished, for the public convenience, by the legislature. There is no more reason, that a corporation or an office should subsist, after it becomes useless to the public, than that an useless law should be

be continued ; and so many of both have in fact been dissolved and discontinued by the legislature, that I think no man will dispute either their power or the reasonableness of so doing : nor is there any more reason, that such a corporation or office should enjoy a revenue, after they are become useless, than that an unnecessary tax should be continued. The proportion therefore of revenue, which every person, in his *political* capacity, ought to enjoy, is to be ascertain'd by the use they are of to the state ; and an increase of revenue, beyond what is sufficient to answer the use proposed, is not only unreasonable, but dangerous to the state. For this reason our law, when it permitted licenses in *mortmain*, did always suppose the value of the lands to be confined to a reasonable compass ; for a general license in *mortmain* would have doubtless been held illegal ; and if a corporation, who had a license, purchased beyond the value, it was a forfeiture. Now, where is the difference to the public, if a corporation should purchase lands on which a small rent is reserved, which is within their license, and after raise them to ten times that value ; or if they should at first exceed their license ? The law may indeed differ, but the reason of resumption in both cases is the same, and in both cases the legislature may justly resume.

FROM these reasons I wish'd, for the sake of the clergy, a law might be enacted,

Q 4

which

which would make a resumption of any thing they ever enjoy'd unnecessary ; as knowing they are now in affluent circumstances of power and riches ; and fearing to what they may be reduced, if ever an exorbitancy of either should make it necessary for the legislature to resume.

BUT notwithstanding my concern for their welfare, I find some of that reverend body are displeased with my proposal. As I chanced to step into a coffee-house near *St. Paul's* the other day, I found my papers the subject of conversation of some venerable gentlemen : one of them seemed much dissatisfied that any revenues could be thought too great for the good uses for which they were given ; whilst another equally warm, was displeased at the supposition, that their revenues were given for any use but theirs who enjoyed them ; and was very sure, that he had as good a right to the absolute disposal of his income as any gentleman had to the rent of his estate. Another accused me, of having misrepresented the value of the church lands, and of having mistaken greatly in supposing leases were not refused to be renewed at the time of the restoration : But this seem'd to be agreed by all, that the church was not arrived to a competency of revenue ; and that when it should be so, it would be time enough to restrain its increase. A very grave gentleman, with an air of great knowledge, was pleased to assert, that the whole

whole meaning of those papers was, that the author had a lease of the *Chequer* ale-house in *Wapping*; and a very smart young man put an end to the conversation, by assuring them he would answer them very soon himself.

THO' it was no small mortification to me, to find that my labours were unacceptable to any of those gentlemen for whose use they were design'd; yet I am willing to dedicate this paper also to their service; that, by explaining more fully some parts of the former, I may regain their good will, or at least save the answerer some trouble.

THE uses for which lands were given to the church, their friend *Dicaiophilus Cantabrigiensis* chooses to explain to us from our acts of parliament; and quotes from the 3 *Rich. 2. c. 3.* 'That lands were given to holy church, to serve and honour God diligently, to keep hospitality, and to teach the people, and to do other worthy acts pertaining to the cure of souls.'

To form therefore a just idea of the quantity of revenue which is sufficient to answer these good ends, the legislature may consider them separately, and leave an ample provision for each.

AND to take them in the order they stand, they may form an idea, in the first place, how much will be sufficient to induce the clergy, in their several capacities and functions, to serve and honour God diligently.

ly. I have that good opinion of them, that I hope a very large sum would not be demanded on this head; nay, I am convinced, that a sum for this purpose, may be by themselves esteemed too large for this use, since it is well known, that in some counties, where the income of a living is so great, that it may draw a suspicion of serving God for money, the incumbent chooses not to reside on his cure, but leaves this duty to be performed by persons who are less liable to an objection of this sort.

THE keeping of hospitality is the second use proposed. The expence necessary for that purpose may be left to the judgment of the clergy themselves, who have judged much less sums necessary for that purpose, than were in former times apply'd to it: not for want of revenues to answer the expence; for it must be allowed, that their revenues are increased, tho' their hospitality has been, for prudential reasons, diminished; but our clergy desire not to influence the people from their *good living*, but by their *good lives*.

THE next end to be answered is, teaching the people; for which end preaching is appointed. For this purpose, I own, no reward can be too great; and it would have been some difficulty to have made a calculation, what sum should be allowed by the state for this purpose, if a price had not been fixed by the consent of the clergy, which
is

is now become universally settled; but so moderate are they in their demands on this head, that I am told ten shillings is the price of a sermon all over the kingdom, travelling charges being included.

IN the last place, an allowance is to be made for doing other worthy acts appertaining to the cure of souls. I own, this head, as it is general, is most difficult to be consider'd justly; as it is somewhat uncertain what those good acts are which now appertain to the *cure of souls*, for which money is in any way necessary. In the times when this law was made, the souls of the dead were a great and necessary expence to the living; as well as pardons and indulgences, and many other good things, as they were then esteemed, which were all the produce of money. But the reformation has lessen'd greatly these expences; nor are the sacraments or absolutions of our church to be sold for money, nor are they any expence to it. Translations, procurations, synodals, reversions of presentations, and some such articles there are, which are doubtless an expence to the clergy; but whether these are those prescribed by the state, under the name of worthy acts appertaining to the cure of souls, I will not take upon me to say, but would leave it to themselves to determine, and also the expence of them; but this I think we may be sure of, that the racking of tenants, the ruining their families, and im-

impoverishing the kingdom, is not a worthy act appertaining to the cure of souls.

THE same author has also quoted the 34 *Eliz.* 1. c. 1. *de provisoribus*, and 25 *E.* 3. where it is declared, ' That the church is ' founded in prelacy by the kings of *Eng-* ' *land*, earls, barons, and other nobles of ' the realm, to inform them and their people in the law of God, and to make hospitality, alms, and other works of charity,' which nearly agrees with the former, saving in the mentioning alms and other works of charity, which I forbear to mention, as the clergy, since the days of *Elizabeth*, have chosen to leave the care of the poor to the church-wardens.

I must also observe, that the computations made in the former paper, of the value of the church lands in some dioceses, are in gross, yet I believe near the truth; but that I shall be very willing to receive a more accurate information, and ready to communicate such knowledge, when I shall be thoroughly informed.

I must also desire the reader not to be led into a mistake by my mentioning, that exorbitant ~~fin~~es were not taken at the time of the restoration for renewals, or that there were not any refusals to renew; for this is only a general assertion. Particular instances may perhaps be found to the contrary; tho' a commission was issued out at that time to prevent it; and two instances appear, where the

the interposition of the House of Commons was found necessary, and accordingly obtained, to oblige a renewal on reasonable terms, which I have extracted from the journals of that house, and insert, to convince the clergy, that tho' the legislature has always, and I hope will always treat them with the utmost tenderness, yet they may be assured it will interpose in cases of necessity.

17th July, 1661. 13 Car. 2.

“ A Petition of *George Lowe*, Esq; member of this house, was this day read,
 “ wherein he doth complain, that he and
 “ his ancestors having been for above a hundred years tenants of the prebend, manor,
 “ and parsonage of *Calne* in *Wiltshire*, held
 “ of the treasurer of the cathedral church
 “ of *Sarum*, and that he and his mother
 “ (to whom he is executor) paid to and for
 “ *Edward Davenant*, doctor of divinity,
 “ now treasurer of the said church, above
 “ four thousand pounds for a lease of the
 “ premisses for one and twenty years, which
 “ will expire at our *Lady-Day* next, and
 “ hath laid out, for preservation of his estate,
 “ and in improvement and otherwise about
 “ the premisses, above four thousand pounds
 “ more, and having been a great sufferer for
 “ his late majesty, and also his now majesty,
 “ by imprisonment, and plunder, composition,
 “ sequestration, and decimation, yet
 “ the said Dr. doth refuse to grant a new
 “ lease

“ lease to him of the premisses, but hath
 “ granted a concurrent lease thereof to his
 “ son, or some other relation : and altho’
 “ several orders have been made for the pe-
 “ titioner’s relief, by the lords and other
 “ persons, commissioned by his majesty, to
 “ mediate between the church and the aun-
 “ tient tenants and purchasers, yet he re-
 “ fuseth to give any obedience thereto.

Ordered, “ THAT copies of the said pe-
 “ tition be sent to Dr. *Davenant* and his
 “ son ; and Mr. *Hungerford*, Mr. *Earnley*,
 “ and Mr. *Daniel*, members of this house,
 “ or any of them, are desired to deliver the
 “ copies to them, and to treat between the
 “ parties, and accommodate the difference
 “ between them in this recess of the par-
 “ liament, if they can : for the better ef-
 “ fecting whereof, it is recommended by
 “ this house to the said Dr. *Davenant* and his
 “ son, to renew the lease of the premisses to
 “ Mr. *Lowe* upon reasonable terms, accord-
 “ ing to auntient use, or else to return their
 “ answer therein to this house, by some of
 “ the persons before-mentioned, who are to
 “ report the same to the house at their first
 “ meeting after the recess : And it is also
 “ recommended to his majesty’s commission-
 “ ers, to resume the cause between the said
 “ parties, and to take it into further confi-
 “ deration ; and in the mean tyme, it is de-
 “ sired by this house, that the lord bishop
 “ and dean and chapter of *Sarum*, do for-
 “ bear

" bear to give any confirmation to the con-
 " current lease, if it be not done."

29 July 1661. 13 Car. 2.

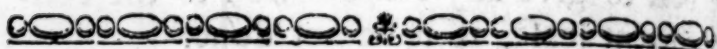
" **A** Petition of *William Balaam* and
 " *Thomas Culpeper*, Esqrs. was this
 " day read.

Ordered, " **T**HAT it be recommended
 " to the lord bishop of *Ely* to renew the
 " petitioners lease upon reasonable terms, and
 " Mr. Speaker is desired to move his lord-
 " ship effectually therein from this house.

I will only add, that as it appears by the
 votes, * that these precedents have lately
 been considered by the legislature, on occa-
 sion of a petition of the like sort, which now
 lies before them; it is hoped a general bill
 will speedily be brought in, wherein the pre-
 sent interest of the clergy will be consider-
 ed, and whereby all complaints of this sort
 may, for the future, be prevented.

* *Vide* Vote 15 March, 1736.

N U M B.



N U M B. LXXXI.

Cernis igitur, quod episcopus, presbyter & diaconus non ideo sunt beati, quia episcopi, vel presbyteri sunt aut diaconi; sed si virtutes habuerint nominum suorum & officiorum.

Hieron. adv. Jovin. L. I.

IT hath been shewn in a former paper, that the word *Επισκοπος*, *i. e. bishop*, was frequently made use of by the antient writers amongst the heathens, to denote certain officers of various kinds, both amongst gods and men, in church and state; that had their particular functions and dioceses committed to them; the very notion of a *bishop* necessarily implying some *charge* or bishopric peculiarly subject to his inspection. I shall now consider the meaning of this word, as made use of by *the original writers* of christianity, and shew with great impartiality *the nature* of that office, which is expressly denoted by it in the christian church.

THE first person after Christ, that we particularly read of, as enjoying the honour, and intrusted with *the burthen* of the episcopal office, was *an apostle*; and the only one of them indeed who is *expressly* said to have had *τιν ἐπισκοπῶν*, or a *bishopric*; and

I mention this, because it may seem to countenance, if not *fully to prove* the truth of that notion, which is the *favourite* opinion of many of our reverend, orthodox, and *high-church clergy*, that their bishops are the true, *lineal, hereditary successors* of the apostles, or at least of an apostle. His name was *Judas*; he was a traitor, a devil, *kept the bag*, and betrayed his lord and master with a kiss. Indeed neither his diocese nor flock are particularly named. But the translators of our bible, in obedience to their order *to keep to the old ecclesiastical words*, and to inculcate into the minds of their readers, that *bishoprics* are as antient as the *apostles*, have expressly made him *a bishop*, and assigned him *a bishopric*: Acts i. 20. *His bishopric let another take.* I suppose they referred to his inspection or *care of the bag*. They knew indeed that the word *ε-πονομιαν* in that place, signified *nothing less* than what we mean by *a bishopric*, and therefore put in the margin, *office or charge*. But it was proper to *keep the old ecclesiastical word*, in obedience to their superiors; and that it might appear to their inferiors, that bishoprics were *right truly antient*, or orthodox and apostolical.

THE next *bishops* we have any account of in the New Testament were *the elders* of the church of *Ephesus*, Acts xx. 17. 28. compared. From *Miletus* he (Paul) *sent to Ephesus, and called* τῶν πρεσβυτέρων *the pres-*
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byters, we render it *elders of the church*, and amongst other things he said to them, *take heed therefore unto your selves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you ἐπισκοποι, bishops*. Our translators render it *overseers*, without so much as putting in the margin, or, *bishops*. In *bishop Judas's* bishopric, we have a proof of their *submission* to authority. In the *Ephesian overseers*, of their *honesty* and *prudence*. It was *profitable* that the people should *believe in bishoprics*, but not profitable that they should believe that there were *more bishops* than one in the city of *Ephesus*; or that *presbyters* and *bishops* were in any respect the same: And therefore the *Ephesian presbyters* shall not be *bishops*, but only plain and *simple overseers*, notwithstanding the order to keep to the old ecclesiastical words. *St. Peter* writing to the elders, exhorts them *to feed the flock of God that was amongst them*, ἐπισκοπῶντες *taking the oversight*, the original word signifies, *exercising the episcopal office, not by constraint, nor for filthy lucre.* * The next bishops we read of were those in the city of *Philippi*, where there seem to have been but *two orders* of officers in the church, viz. the *bishops* and *deacons*, *Philip. i. 1.* *St. Paul*, in his epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, describes *the nature* of the episcopal function,

* 1 Peter v. 1, 2,

without mentioning the bishops of any particular place. And finally, the only place where the word is elsewhere used is, 1 Pet. ii. 25. where Christ is call'd *the shepherd and bishop of souls*.

So that the proper meaning of the word *ἐπισκοπος* i. e. *bishop*, is *overseer*, inspector, or *superintendent*. Thus our translators understood it, when they render'd the word *ἐπισκοπος*, *Acts* xx 28. *overseers*. Thus the constitution of *Otho*, cited by the author of the *Codex*, p. 193. *The duty incumbent on the venerable fathers, archbishops and bishops, by virtue of their office, the name of their dignity, which is bishop, i. e. superintendent, evidently expresses. For they are properly to apply themselves, and to keep watch about their flock, according to the evangelic word.* *

It appears also that *every bishop* was an elder, or *presbyter*, and taken from the presbyterian college; tho' I think every elder or presbyter was not a bishop, as this word seems appropriated in the N. T. The name of presbyter was taken from the *Jewish synagogue*, and generally implies in it any office of dignity and trust; and the elders of the christian church evidently appear to be

* *Quid ad venerabiles patres, archiepiscopos, & episcopos incumbat ex officio faciendum, nomen dignitatis eorum, quod est episcopus, i. e. superintendens, evidenter exprimit. Intendere proprie quippe habent, & circa gregem suum, juxta verbum evangelicum, noctis vigilias custodire.*

persons selected from the several congregations of christian converts, upon account either of their age, gravity, wisdom and experience, to take care of, and manage all the several affairs relating to the respective congregations they belonged to. *1 Tim.* v. 17. the presbyters are described to be *οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ᾠδοῦντες*, persons *that rule well, good presidents* of the congregations; which is the general account of their office and work. Accordingly they received alms for the relief of their poor, *Acts* xi. 13. They presided in church-debates, *Acts* xv. 6. They sent messengers to other churches, *Acts* xv. 23. They visited and pray'd with the sick, *Jam.* v. 14. And in short, transacted, with the advice and consent of the church, all affairs in general, relating to the well-being, order, and government of it.

THE office of those elders who were bishops, seems to have been *more appropriated* and confined, tho' *more honourable* and difficult. They were to *take heed to themselves and to the flock*, i. e. the congregation, over which they were bishops, *to feed the church of God*, viz. with sound doctrine, and constant preaching, *Acts* xx. 28. They were *to feed the flock of God, willingly, of a ready mind, and be ensamples of the flock*, *1 Pet.* v. 2. They were such *who laboured in the word and doctrine*, *1 Tim.* v. 17. who were *apt to teach*, *1 Tim.* iii. 2. Persons who *held fast the faithful word, as they*

they had been taught, that they might be able by sound doctrine, both to exhort and convince the gainsayers, Tit. i. 9. They were to give attendance to reading, exhortation, and doctrine; to meditate on these things; to give themselves WHOLLY to them, and to continue in them, that they might save themselves and those that heard them, 1 Tim. iv. 13 — 16.

It appears extremely plain by these passages, that that which distinguished the primitive bishop from the elder, and rendered him *espically worthy of double honour*, was the bishops constant diligent application to the preaching of the gospel; the convincing gainsayers, and the salvation of themselves and others; and their giving themselves up wholly to, and continuing in, these things; and leaving the care of the less important affairs of the church to the other elders, who had not thus taken on them the episcopal charge. So that their proper diocese was the congregation they were severally to instruct, that particular flock that was under their care. And they were to take care of *the whole flock* to feed it, and *to feed it themselves*; for of *journeymen shepherds*, or bishops, there is not the least mention in the New Testament. So that they who are not shepherds and feeders of the flock, and who do not give themselves up wholly to this work, are not those bishops which *St. Paul* describes, and who were originally constituted by the Holy Ghost.

'Tis true, my good lord of *London* seems to be not exactly of the same opinion with *St. Paul* in this point; for * he tells the people of his diocese, that they *are committed, as to their spiritual affairs, to the more immediate care and direction of parochial ministers; yet not so as to cease to be a part of the episcopal care, especially in cases where the concern is general.* 'Tis evident from these words, that his lordship thinks that the *episcopal care* is a different thing from the care and *direction of the spiritual affairs* of the people of his diocese. This he thinks belongs to *the parochial ministers.* The episcopal care is especially in cases *where the concern is general*; such as relate to all manner of christians, and *the dangers such as may not fall under the observation of every particular pastor, viz.* where the pastor may be asleep, or blind, or non-resident, and so knows nothing of a general concern; which by its *being general* should, one would think, be known to the pastor as well as every body else. So that as to the particular spiritual concerns of the people of *London*, his lordship's episcopal care hath no relation to them. All these he hath committed to the more immediate care of parochial ministers. He, as bishop, is not to take heed to all the flock of the *London* diocese, in their spiritual affairs, *to feed the*

* *Pastoral Letter*, p. 1.

church of God, which he hath purchased with his blood ; only in general concerns, where particular pastors may not observe the danger, his lordship is willing to interpose his episcopal care.

AND agreeable to this doctrine, that the spiritual affairs of the flock of Christ are no proper and peculiar part of the episcopal care, I find that the very reverend author of the *Codex* hath shewn, that the dignity of the bishops consists in quite different things than taking care of the spiritual concerns of the flock. They were formerly *the king's chief counsel, necessary and profitable to the king and nation, may qualify six chaplains, may dispense in cases accustomed, must be advised with in causes matrimonial, may licence the pulling down of churches, may grant licences to officiate in unconsecrated places, may appoint holy-days, may sit with justices, shall judge concerning the decency of surplices and communion table, may direct the place of churching women, and take care of terriers throughout their dioceses.* These, and many other like *pious and holy works*, the said author hath reckoned up as peculiarly belonging to the episcopal office, from popes, legates, acts of parliament, and the like authorities ; whilst at the same time he is almost intirely silent about preaching, praying, feeding the flock, and watching for the souls of men, which are duties of the

episcopal office, particularly inculcated by the writers of the New Testament.

'TIS also farther fit to be observed, that the bishops mentioned by St. *Paul*, were to be *blameless, vigilant, sober, of good report, given to hospitality, not given to wine, not greedy of filthy lucre, nor covetous.* These characters eminently belong, especially some of them, to the bishops of our own times; the frequency of whose translations *from poorer to richer* bishoprics, and whose holding *rich deaneries, prebends, parishes, masterships*, and the like, *in commendam*, can never be suspected to be from covetousness, or *greediness of filthy lucre*; but purely from the love of Christ, and hospitality, and to keep up the dignity of the episcopal character; or in St. *Peter's* words, *they take the oversight*, their episcopal office, NOT BY CONSTRAINT, BUT WILLINGLY; *not for filthy lucre*, BUT OF A READY MIND. Without these additions to the incomes of our bishoprics, they would not be sufficient to enable the possessors of them to indulge the dictates of their own great compassion and generosity; and the inferior and poorer clergy would miss of those daily supports, which they receive from the purses, and find at the tables of our episcopal pastors. And therefore in my next, I shall particularly consider the doctrine of *pluralities*.

N U M B. LXXXII.

Δος μοι παρθενην αιωνιον, αππα, φυλασιν,
και πολυνυμην. — Callim. Hym. in Dian.

AMONGST other requests which the great goddess *Diana* made to *Jupiter* her father, when she was a girl, this is none of the least remarkable that is mention'd by *Callimachus*, * Δος μοι πολυνυμην. *Grant that I may be called by MANY NAMES.* *Jove* immediately granted her request; and, as the learned *Spanheim* observes in his notes, she in a peculiar manner obtained this honour amongst the *Gentiles*, having a multitude of names bestowed on her from the places where she was worshipped, from the various offices she sustained, and the different employments and arts that were ascribed to her. The same writer observes, that several other of the gods obtained the title or πολυνυμη, or *many-nam'd*; such as *Venus*, *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, with more that might be mentioned; and that this was one of the chief prerogatives of the heathen deities, because this shewed them to be possessed of great powers, secured them great veneration and worship, and very large incomes and re-

* Hym. in Dian.

venues. Hence *Apollo*, who was one of the many-nam'd deities, is expressly stiled by *Callimachus*, Πολυχρυσος Ἀπολλων, και πολυκτεανος, *Apollo rich in gold, and of large possessions*. So that the true reason of these gods coveting many names, was the love of gold and large possessions, and the influence, power, and authority, that were connected with them.

'Tis evident, that many of our christian priests are possessed of the same *divine spirit*, and as ambitious and eager of the same honourable character of πολυωνυμοι, *Many-nam'd*, as any of the antient gods could be. They have them for their *precedents*, and are in this respect their *proper successors*. The single name of bishop, or dean, or rector, sounds but low, quickly *passes off* the tongue, and creates but little veneration or respect. But when titles are multiplied, and many names of honour and profit *concenter* in the same person, it looks graceful and glorious, and evidently proves, that *godliness is great gain*. Hence the same right reverend father in God is bishop of — and dean of —; another, bishop of — and master of —; another, bishop of — and prebendary of —; another, bishop of — and prebendary of — and rector of —; the same reverend priest is rector of — and of —, and dean of —, and master of —, and prebendary of —, like the great god *Apollo*, πολυχρυσος και πολυκτεανος: He abounds in

in gold and in possessions. So that though these good men take on them the burthen and charge of these several offices, unquestionably out of spiritual views; yet they have one thing to comfort them under all their labours and cares, that they do not *serve God for nought*, but that *the work of their hand is blessed, and their substance is increased in the land.*

I very well know, that the *many-nam'd clergy*, amongst us, have their enemies, who think, that the heaping many rich benefices and preferments upon one single person, is a waste of the church's treasures, inconsistent with the true end of the christian ministry and priesthood, and what hath a tendency to render the clergy themselves insolent and lazy. Amongst these seems to be the very reverend author of the *Codex*, who hath recited from one *Othobon* the several mischiefs which he imagined to proceed from pluralities. Says he, * “ The truth of the
“ christian religion hath so forsaken many,
“ through the pride of their heart, that
“ when they are scarce sufficient for the
“ care of their own souls, weighing themselves in a lying balance, they undertake,
“ without fear, not only the cure of one
“ benefice, but of many, hereby involving
“ themselves in many and innumerable cares;
“ and walking in vanities and false mad-

* Vol. II. p. 942.

“ nesses,

“ neſſes, they neceſſarily neglect thoſe mi-
 “ ſerable ſouls whom they have undertaken
 “ the care of, ſince they can’t fulfil ſuch
 “ duty through the impoſſibility of the
 “ thing. Theſe perſons truly aſſiſting the
 “ fleſh againſt the ſpirit, againſt God and
 “ their neighbour, and on purpoſe departing
 “ from God, whiſt they manifeſtly precipi-
 “ tate themſelves into the hands of the de-
 “ vil, take away ſouls from Chriſt, and by
 “ a curſed perverſeneſs convert the alms of
 “ the poor into ſuperfluous, not to ſay evil,
 “ uſes. We are not able to recount how
 “ many evils accrue to the church from
 “ theſe perſons. Honesty is defiled, au-
 “ thority is annulled, the faith of Chriſt is
 “ trampled on, charity is baniſhed, the hope
 “ of the poor periſhes: becauſe a miſerable
 “ blind ſinner enters every vacant benefice,
 “ though not his own; and tho’ he boasts,
 “ that he is the rector, he doth not ſo pro-
 “ perly receive as ſteal it.” The ſame au-
 “ thor adds, that “ it gives occaſion of con-
 “ tentions and ſcandal, of ſtrifes and ha-
 “ tred, and that there is reaſon to fear the
 “ heaviest of God’s judgments upon ac-
 “ count of this practice, unleſs the divine
 “ mercy is pleaſed to apply an wholeſome
 “ remedy; though he calls it juſt after a
 “ peſtilential and almoſt incurable diſeaſe.”

IT is alſo certain, that ſeveral conſtituti-
 ons and acts of parliament were made to pre-
 vent and reſtrain *pluralities*; as a thing
 judg’d

judg'd to be of evil and pernicious consequence, and particularly by the 21 *Hen. VIII.* it was enacted, " That if any person
 " or persons, having one benefice with cure
 " of souls, being of *the yearly value of*
 " *eight pounds*, or above, (*viz.* in the king's
 " books) accept and take any other with cure
 " of souls, and be instituted and inducted in
 " possession of the same, that then and immediately after such possession had thereof, the first benefice shall be judged to be
 " void."

BUT 'tis evident that our clergy think these confinements contrary to the reason and nature of things, as well repugnant to the honour and prosperity of the church; and that so far from imagining *eight pounds* an year a sufficient reward for the cure of souls, they many of them are not contented with much more than *eight hundred*; and therefore never scruple, when 'tis in their power, to add dignity to dignity, benefice to benefice, cure to cure, as well as *sine cure* to *sine cure*, by dispensations, *commendams*, or any other methods that safely present themselves. And to the many good reasons that have been urged by other eminent writers, I will add some that they have omitted, of equal weight, and that do as strongly prove the reasonableness and fitness of the practice.

It is derived from, and *patronized by the Gods* themselves; all of them, that were of any repute, being indisputably pluralists.

ralists. And why should that be a scandal in our christian clergy, of which the greatest deities of old were so extremely ambitious and fond? Yea, the very God of wisdom was of the number, and found his advantage in it. And should they not follow the sacred voice and conduct of wisdom?

IT highly *promotes the honour* of the church, which consists, not, as some narrow thinkers may imagine, in the piety of her priests, and the virtue of her children, but in the largeness of her revenues, and the extensiveness of her power. And what can more effectually contribute to this than the multiplication of dignities, benefices, titles and revenues upon the same persons, by which their riches increase, and by consequence their influence and authority, which are the natural attendants of riches. And if besides preferments merely spiritual, others of a temporal nature were thrown into the bosom of the church; and to the episcopal or clerical character were added, as in old times, that of *lord high chancellor, lord treasurer*, and others of the like nature, the church would still appear more truly venerable, and attract a more distinguishing reverence and honour.

AND what thus promotes the honour of the church, must *add to its safety*. Riches and honours are great allurements to zeal, and have attached multitudes to the interests of the church, where religion and virtue would

would have been wholly ineffectual. The glare of spiritual pomp, and the magnificence of the church when arrayed in all the glory of her worldly attire, will attract the wonder, and draw forth the reverence of the bulk of mankind, and raise up out of the very stones and dust of the earth patrons and defenders. It will tempt multitudes to forsake all the low and profane secular callings of life, and to appropriate and consecrate themselves to divine and spiritual employments. The *many-named clergy* will be peculiarly warm for the church and her revenues, grow fearless and resolute in defence of her sacred privileges, and even dare to oppose kings and princes, lawgivers and senates, if they presume to make any encroachments upon her rights; and if they but *put forth their hand to touch any thing that they have*, not scruple, out of the fervency and holiness of their zeal, *to curse them to their face*.

AND what thus adds to the safety of the church, must surely be for the honour and *interest of religion*. For who can help admiring it, when they see such precious privileges attending it, and multiplied benefits and rewards even here secured to it? Or how can religion be in danger, when the church, that pillar and foundation of it, is thus fixed upon a rock, and secured by its own internal strength, the number of its friends, and the largeness of its possessions?

PLU-

PLURALITIES also add a sacredness and *dignity to the persons* of our clergy, and must necessarily raise in others an high opinion of their zeal and fidelity, of their capacities and abilities, in that they are ready to undergo the fatigue of their several cures, and able and willing to discharge the different important trusts that center in them. The bishop, as if there were not work enough to preside over and inspect the affairs of a whole diocese, hath his particular parish too, with whose spiritual affairs he is immediately intrusted, and for whose souls he makes himself answerable to God. And the priest, in imitation of him, not thinking the care of a single parish employment enough, procures a dispensation for a second, dividing his pious cares between them; and is to be sure *present* with one, or both, *in spirit*, when he is *corporally absent* from them. What zeal doth this argue in the Lord's vineyard, and care to fulfil the ministry they have received of him!

It also may be presum'd to add a weight and to *procure attention* to their ministration. A poor divine can never be a good orator, nor good sense and sound doctrine ever be persuasive from *tattered crape*. But the many-named divine must for that reason be thought a man of merit, and his preferments and wealth challenge attention. *When a rich man speaks, every man holds his tongue, and looks at what he says; they extol*

extol it to the clouds. But if the poor man preach, they say, what fellow is this? If he speaks wisely, he can find no place: So that like St. Paul's sufferings, this plurality of preferments may, we see, fall out to the furtherance of the gospel.

ANOTHER advantage of pluralities is, that it occasions *frequent non-residencies*, or absence from parishes; so that if the situation of one parish be not over healthy or pleasant, or if the parishioners be not respectful or peaceable, or if the rector loves exercise and change, he hath the advantage of removing when ever he pleases, and of consulting his pleasure and conveniency, as occasion or inclination requires; which must be allowed but a reasonable thing, where persons have so great a burthen continually upon them, and are so wholly employed in affairs of a spiritual and heavenly nature.

PLURALITIES also are greatly for the benefit and *welfare of souls* themselves. For either the pluralist hath his curate or not. If he hath, his parishes have the advantage of a double sort of pastordship, and of enjoying, at least sometimes, the honour and assistance of two ambassadors from heaven, *viz.* the doctor and his curate; by whose united labours it may be reasonably hoped the souls under their care will abundantly prosper, and by the plenty of their spiritual food grow fat and flourishing. If the pluralist hath no curate, as his sheep

will be feldomer fed, they will be lefs in danger of surfeiting; they may be supposed to relish their food the better, when they have but little of it; and by being allow'd time enough for proper digestion, to grow healthy, if not fat, on the fruit of that temperance and abstinence which is prescribed them; and to grow more humble and submissive, in proportion as their diet is more scanty and sparing.

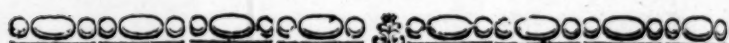
It furnishes also our clergy with greater means and opportunities for *hospitality*. How can a bishop practice this virtue suitably to his station, out of a small revenue of eight hundred or a thousand pounds a year? Or a clergyman shew his liberality out of the income of a single parish, without another living, a deanery, a prebend, or some such kind of supplement, to assist and enable him? The hospitality of our modern clergy is so notorious a thing, that it must be owing to a very unhospitable turn of mind, if any persons can think them unworthy of the pluralities they enjoy, or would do any thing to deprive them of the means of gratifying their passionate desires to be beneficent and charitable.

PLURALITIES are also great encouragements to merit and learning. For tho' these qualifications are not generally considered in the collation of them, and they frequently fall to the lot of those who *seldom preach* or pray but *by proxy*, and have
little

little knowledge or industry or good sense to recommend them; yet as they *encourage hope*, and feed expectation, they must be allowed to be real motives to diligence and study, and the vigorous endeavour to obtain merit, tho' it should have the misfortune never to attain to the expected reward of it. A list of our present pluralists would abundantly convince the world, that their many names are the mere purchase of piety, learning, and all other qualifications that compose the characters of eminently great and good men.

AND finally, it ministers occasion to the poor neglected part of the clergy to *exercise many eminent christian graces*, which otherwise possibly they might have been absolute strangers to. When they see others of their brethren loaden with preferments, and engrossing to themselves livings and dignities, which would render ten private families easy and happy, without any distinguishing merit, other than kindred, interest, or a fawning complaisance to a minister, a ministerial creature, or a tool of power; and at the same time are distressed themselves with private wants, and the increasing claims of a needy family: How will such a situation teach them the exercise of faith and patience, contempt of the world, frugality, temperance, and other christian graces, by which our clergy will, in their different stations, become patterns of every virtue! those

of many names, patterns of the several virtues of a rich and prosperous state; and those of one or none, patterns of those which are suited to the lower condition of poverty and want. So useful to the interests of religion is this plurality of benefices, and so little reason is there for complaining of it, as an unreasonable or unchristian practice!



N U M B. LXXXIII.

PLA. *Nugas garris.* CUR. *Soleo.* Nam
propter eas vivo facilius.

Plaut. Curcul.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

AS you are a *Consistent Protestant*, as well as an *Old Whig*, I presume your honest zeal alike extends to *church* and *state*. You will give me leave therefore to take notice of an indecorum in the former, which seems well to deserve the notice of every *Consistent Protestant*, and true member of our church.

THE late vote of parliament which repealed the laws concerning *witchcraft*, has been attended, no doubt, with the unanimous

mous suffrage of all the wise and thinking people in the land. As the light of truth advances, the darkness of superstition and error withdraws; and legends and stories which passed upon former ages with a religious veneration, are now hardly heard without ridicule.

BUT as the king and parliament are the true and only governours of the *church*, as well as *state*; it may, 'tis hoped, e'er long come into their minds to purge from its forms of worship some things which favour strongly of fable and superstition.

THE reading the scriptures was ever both in the *Jewish* and *christian* church, reckoned an *important*, if not an *essential*, part of its public worship: Now it seems a little odd, that in the order set forth in the Common-Prayer, several *fabulous* and *foolish things* (to say no worse of them) contain'd in the *Apocrypha*, are ordered to be read.

WITH what gravity or patience could a wise bishop or doctor of this knowing age read, or a congregation of ingenious and well-instructed christians hear, the legendary tale of * *Asmodeus the evil spirit falling deeply in love with Sarah the daughter of Raguel; and in the warmth of his passion for her, terribly seizing seven youths, who had successively married her, and strangling them on the wedding night*: And fur-

* *Tobit*, chap. vi. viii.

ther, *how* Raphael, *one of the seven angels who stand before God* (who by the way, tells a round lye to conceal himself from Tobit and his son, and affirms himself, to be *Azarias* the son of *Ananias* the great:*) How this noble angel *instructs* young Tobias *to take the heart and liver of a fish, and make a smoke with it*, (to stink away the devil, as one humorously expresses it) *and how the youth on his nuptial night thus conquered his infernal rival, and drove the carnal and enamoured spirit into the utmost parts of Egypt, and there the angel bound him fast.* — And further, — *How with the gall of this same wonder-working fish, the eyes of old Tobit, which a sparrow, by muting into them, had unhappily put out, were again restored to sight: —* to say nothing of the idle legends of *Judith, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon*, the last of which (the brazen Dragon) was torn to pieces by a kind of magick balls made, by the prophet Daniel's directions, of pitch and fat and hair boiled together. — What are these but *Jewish* fables, which St. *Paul* commands *Titus* carefully to shun? With what gravity or decorum (let me again ask) could a venerable prelate be supposed to read these trifles in the solemn worship of God, or a learned and polite congregation to hear 'em?

AND what makes it the more extraordinary is — that in the preface to the Com-

* Chap. v.

mon-Prayer, 'tis complained, "*That the*
 "*godly and decent order* (as to reading the
 "*holy scriptures in the church) of the an-*
 "*tient fathers had been broken and ne-*
 "*glected by planting in uncertain stories*
 "*and legends. — But that now here is an*
 "*order for prayer and for reading the*
 "*holy scriptures* MORE PROFITABLE,
 "*BECAUSE here are left out many things,*
 "*whereof some are untrue, some uncer-*
 "*tain, and some vain and superstitious,*
 "*and nothing is ordained to be read but*
 "*the very pure word of God, the holy scrip-*
 "*tures, or that which is agreeable to the*
 "*same."* — Now, if the order here pre-
 scribed be *therefore more profitable than*
the former, because it leaves out many
 things, of which some are untrue, some un-
 certain, some vain and superstitious; would
 not even this *last order* have been *more*
profitable than now it is, if the things of
 this kind, which are now confessedly in it,
 had also been left out?

'TIS true indeed, our church in her sixth
 article, expressly distinguishes the *Apocry-*
phal books from the *Canonical*: But in her
 Homilies she often quotes the former, as au-
 thentic parts of scripture, and expressly as-
 cribes the book of *Tobit* to the Holy Ghost.
 — Besides, not one perhaps in ten thousand
 of its members have ever carefully read its
 articles; but 'tis from the book of Common-
 Prayer which is in every one's hand, that

their sentiments as to this matter, are generally form'd : Now here, after the order given how the Psalter is to be read, the title of the next section is, *the order how the rest of the holy scriptures is appointed to be read*; and under this general title the *Apo-cryphal* books, without the least intimation of their being of inferior authority, are directed to be read in course with the other writings of the Old and New Testament.

THO' there are, no doubt, too many of our clergy who swallow oaths and subscriptions with little regard, but to comfortable preferments to which they admit them; yet there are multitudes of learned and conscientious men of that character, who are the lights and ornaments of our land, and who well consider their solemn vows and subscriptions before they make them. Now for the sake of those, it were to be wished (and of the brave youths who are rising up full of the same spirit) that some parts of our public forms of worship might receive a parliamentary review. That when they *declare their unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the book intituled, The Common-Prayer, — and solemnly subscribe that they will use the form in the said book prescrib'd, and no other, —* they may be able both to make and to perform this promise with greater ease to their minds, and without that wresting and torturing, to which, as things

things at present stand, they seem to be compelled.

As the laws about *witchcraft* are now exploded the state, is it not time that all legends about amorous spirits, devils falling in love with women, spells, charms, and such like magic feats, should be exploded our church too? The story may be indeed of service to check the pride of our female beauties; and the vain pleasure with which they sometimes contemplate themselves in the glass, may be hereby dash'd with a proper horror, lest some attending devil should be captivated with their charms, and render their marriage-bed fatal to whatever youth should dare to approach it. —

BUT is it not extremely hard, that so many wise and learned men must solemnly give their unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contain'd and prescribed in that book, which prescribes the reading such fables as these? And when men of judgment and taste in this age of free inquiry, shall come into our churches and hear such things read as parts of our public worship; which will it most provoke, their indignation or their mirth? Is it not complain'd of as the prevailing corruption and humour of the present age; to banter things sacred; to ridicule public worship; to laugh at the priesthood, and make the scriptures their jest? Let us resolve, in the name of God, to take away the occasion, and give them

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no handle. — For as far as things *are* ridiculous, they *will be* ridiculed. —

I am,

S I R,

Yours,

PAULUS.



N U M B. LXXXIV.

— *Quid in eversâ vidi crudelius Urbe?*
VIRG.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,
WHIGGISM, by which I understand a due regard to the rights and liberties of a people, is in no instance so requisite or necessary as in politics, or the method of governing a city or nation. Without this principal ingredient, government will degenerate into craft and tyranny; and though in such circumstances a people may be subdued and enslaved, they cannot properly be said to be governed.

THE existence of our own government (as also of all others that are free) depends upon

upon a just reverence for the persons and authority of our governours, on the one hand ; and a due tenderness for the rights of the people, and an affectionate concern for their protection and welfare, on the other. Whatsoever tends to the weakening of these principles, either in the governours or the governed, doth so far tend to the dissolution of the government, and subversion of the public peace. Offenses must be animadverted upon, and malefactors punished ; but then the punishment ought always to fall upon the heads of the offenders, and upon them only. The mutual affection between the prince and the people in their public politic capacity is never to be infringed. No offense ought, upon any occasion, to be supposed in either of those parties : because such a supposition may do great harm, in shocking the frame of the government ; but cannot do good ; since there is not, nor in the nature of politics can there be, any proper remedy provided for such wrongs.

THE same reasoning will hold in proportion, with regard to the community of any city, or other part of the public. Whatever offense may have been committed by the members of such a body, and however general the guilt may be, yet the resentment of the magistrate is, as in good politics it ought to be, pointed against the offenders singly, and in their natural capacity : They are severed from the public, of
which

which they were members; and the affection of the prince or state towards the city or community itself, is always supposed and professed to continue. The proposing to punish a community, for the faults of any number of its members, resembles too much the cruelty of *Nero*, who wished that the people of *Rome* had but one neck, that he might cut it off at a blow.

As the bill *to disable Alexander Wilson, Esq; &c.* is not yet pass'd into a law; and as it is a bill of very great importance, immediately to one city in the united kingdom, and consequently to all other cities and infranchised boroughs; I hope an OLD WHIG may, without offense, offer to the public, some thoughts upon it; both with regard to such a proceeding in general, and with regard to the particular censure intended to be inflicted upon the city of *Edinburgh*.

WHAT part my lord provost may have acted with respect to the late riot, I cannot say: but if I were in the same unfortunate circumstances with that gentleman, I think I should not trouble either house of parliament with a defense of my own conduct, let the punishment appointed for me be what it would; or incumber, with any thing relating to my self, the opposition to a bill, that threatened the taking away the gates and guard of a capital city, *to lay it waste and open, and to reduce it to the condition of a country village. Dismal consequences!*

as they are justly called by Sir *Robert Sawyer*, in the opening of his argument against the city of *London*.

Two great ends of magistracy are, the protecting of the innocent, and deterring of evil-doers: But when a black note is set upon magistracy itself, and a city is branded with a mark of perpetual infamy; does it not tend greatly to lessen the terror of evil-doers, when they behold their judges under the same character of punished criminals, which ought to be a dread to themselves? How can the innocent inhabitants of a populous city be defended, when they are stripped of their fence, and laid as open as the fields? When their guard is taken away, and they are left to be insulted by every ill-disposed night-walker!

THAT the citizens and inhabitants of *Edinburgh* have been guilty of the late disorders, is hard to say; because, if any of them are innocent, such a censure will involve the innocent in the punishment of the guilty: And that this is contrary to the maxims of government, I need but produce one authority, which I hope will be allowed decisive. It is in *Genesis* xviii. 24, &c.

" Wilt thou also destroy the righteous with
 " the wicked? Peradventure there be fifty
 " righteous within the city: wilt thou also
 " destroy, and not spare the place for the
 " fifty righteous that are therein? That be
 " far from thee to do after this manner, to
 " flay

“ slay the righteous with the wicked: and
 “ *that the righteous should be as the wick-*
 “ *ed*, that be far from thee ; shall not the
 “ judge of all the earth do right ? ” That
 the number of fifty was not material, ap-
 pears by the sequel of the history. In the
 case of the late riot, above a hundred per-
 sons are fled from justice. These fugitives,
 one would think, are very proper objects of
 a bill of pains and penalties. And there are
 numerous precedents that would justify the
 making a law, for appointing *them* a day to
 surrender themselves, and in default of their
 appearance, for punishing *them* with banish-
 ment, and such other penalties as it is in the
 power of the state to inflict. But to let these
 escape, and, in their stead, to punish the in-
 nocent inhabitants, who are already sup-
 posed to be too great sufferers from the re-
 missness of their magistrates, is very hard.
 And such punishments fall the heaviest up-
 on the innocent and the virtuous ; for good
 men are always the most affected with any
 thing, that tends to hurt the welfare of the
 public.

SOME precedents have been brought to
 justify the proceeding ; but not one that I
 can hear of that comes up to the case. The
 defense and watch of towns has always been
 preserved intire to them ; and whatever
 seizures have been made of their franchises,
 they have generally been restored after a
 very short time. But this punishment is to
 be

be perpetual : Nor is it to be left in his majesty's power to restore them either their gates or their guard. The case of the town of *Cambridge*, in *Richard* the second's reign, mentioned in *Coke* 4. *Inst.* 228. is by no means so strong. The citizens, headed by their magistrates, made a violent riotous assault upon the university ; for which several of their franchises were seized, and given to the university. But that was no more than exchanging one civil magistrate for another. The government remained intire, and the peace was preserved. The privileges of a university are always protected with the greatest tenderness : But even where these are infringed, a whole community is not always to be punished for the fault of a few. The 'university of *Edinburgh* has been insulted by soldiers quartered in the suburbs. Musquets have been discharged into the college among the students ; and the persons who committed such outrages, were liable to severe punishments for it. But would it have been just in such case, to have punished a whole regiment ; or to have taken away the right of quartering soldiers in the suburbs ? It will not be contended for.

The *Scots* had great reason to hope, that the privileges of their royal burghs should remain intire, notwithstanding their submitting all their rights to the power of a *British* parliament : They having expressly stipulated, *That such rights should remain intire*

intire after the union, and notwithstanding thereof, Art. 21. It is indeed argued, that this article extends not to the several rights of the individual burghs, but should be restrained to their common rights as a body. This is not a very liberal construction: The words are very capable of one more generous. Such a stipulation, where so great a confidence is reposed, ought not to be confined to the most restrained construction. And from the use of words of the like import in an act of the very next year, one would think, that the parliament used them in their fuller signification. It is in the *stat. 6 Ann. c. 6. § 3.* The act empowers the crown to name justices of peace in *Scotland*; and the proviso is thus: "That nothing in
 " this act contained shall be construed to al-
 " ter or infringe any rights, liberties, or pri-
 " vileges heretofore granted to the city of
 " *Edinburgh*, or to any other royal bo-
 " rough, of being justices of peace within
 " their respective bounds."

It is also said, that the parliament may vary the articles of the *Union*, even such as are not declared to be alterable by the parliament of *Great-Britain*. Undoubtedly they may; they are themselves the only guarantees of their own treaty. But that they never will do it without great necessity, any more than they will violate the public faith in any other instance, where they have given it, I believe, I may venture to assert.

IT is further urged, that all the privileges of these boroughs are liable to judgment of forfeiture in course of law, and consequently, must be subject to the disposal of the legislature. That they are left subject to the jurisdiction of the courts of law as they were before, is evident from the words of the article ; but that the legislative power should not interpose against them, seems to be the very thing stipulated : nor do I think any other sense can be put upon the article ; especially if we compare it with others of a like nature, and in particular, with that relating to the courts of justice.

HOWEVER, the *union* itself is of too great importance to be indangered by any thing that affects a single city only. It has been declared with great justice and impartiality in the name of the patrons of this bill, that they would promote a bill of the same nature against any town in the united kingdom in the like case. As therefore this bill will undoubtedly stand as a precedent with regard to *London*, whensoever the behaviour of the citizens may require such a proceeding, I shall crave a little more of your patience, to consider it in that light. I choose to name *London*, because *London* and *Edinburgh* are the only towns in the kingdom, that I know of, that enjoy, what they call a royal privilege, the immunity of quartering soldiers. And if we consider some late instances of the behaviour of the citizens, we

must own, that it is owing, as much to the lenity of the government, as to the conduct of the city, that they are not made the first instance of a bill of this nature. Let us suppose then, in resentment of some future riot, that the gates of *London*, next to such part of the suburbs as the greatest number of foldiers are usually quartered in, are order'd by act of parliament to be taken away, and the communication directed to be kept open at all times, as well by night as by day. In such case the benefit accruing to the public by the interposition of the military, in default of the civil magistrate, may be very great. But, with humble submission I should think, the bill might need some amendments. It would be well that the people were particularly instructed, what deference they were to pay to his Majesty's troops upon every emergency. For otherwise, when the troops are entered the city, some persons, ignorant of the intention of the law, might, through inadvertency, retire to their houses, and shut their own doors against the soldiers, though they are not permitted to shut their city gates; and thereby incur the guilt, of obstructing the wise and prudent measures, that might be concerted by the officers, for securing the rights, and preserving the peace and liberty of the town. Perhaps the construction of this act of parliament may be very clear by the law of *Scotland*, of which I must confess myself intirely ignorant; but as we can-

not

not expect, that the bill for *London* (if an occasion for such a one offers) shall be drawn in a different form; I could wish that these doubts, and many others that might be proposed, were obviated by proper directions in this bill.

I have but one observation more to trouble you with: and that is, that his Majesty's royal progenitors, kings of *England* and *Scotland*, have been pleased to adorn the two capital cities with many and ample privileges, and imagined that in so doing they reflected an honour to the crown. The liberties of the people are undoubtedly the true ornaments of the royal diadem. Let the projectors of this scheme then, who propose the laying open the walls of a capital and royal city, and thereby pointing out the inhabitants as the care of the army, and the contempt of their neighbours, consider, whether by such measures they do not greatly injure his Majesty, and eclipse the lustre of his crown. I am,

S I R,

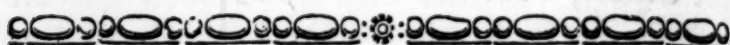
Yours, &c.

May 14.
1737.

HENOTICUS.

T 2

NUMB.



N U M B. LXXXV.

Hypocrita appellatur qui aliud est, & aliud simulat. Aliud opere agit, & aliud voce prætendit.

Hieron. Com. in Mat. 21.

SUBSCRIPTIONS to articles of faith, is a matter of such great importance in itself, and hath such an immediate and necessary connection with the cause of *liberty*, that it will not, I imagine, be judged improper, to consider the nature of them, and their consequences with respect to religion and virtue.

THERE is but little mention made of this custom of subscribing amongst the primitive writers of the christian church, till the council of *Nice*. The *most antient Creeds* were generally *short*; and the *declaring in words* a person's belief of them, was originally accounted *abundantly sufficient* to his receiving of baptism, and admission into the highest offices of the christian church; because such profession was supposed to proceed from a real and inward conviction of the truth of what was thus openly confessed, and is declared by St. *Paul* himself to be sufficient to salvation. * *If thou shalt confess with*

* *Rom. x. 9.*

thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.

BUT when the clergy had once corrupted the christian faith, and, contrary to *the simplicity* of it, had introduced *new articles*, and coined large and tedious creeds as *the tests of orthodoxy*, in order to support the power they had usurped over the consciences of others, and to bind men the more strongly to a submission to their arbitrary decrees, they introduced the practice of *subscription to articles* and creeds, as a more *effectual test* of what they called *orthodoxy*, and as a more solemn manner of making persons profess their belief of what they were resolved to oblige them to believe.

'TIS allowed, that there is no colour for this practice in the writings of the New Testament, the apostles never once requiring it themselves, nor leaving the least intimation or rule about it, to any of their successors. It is therefore a mere human *ecclesiastical invention*, that owes its rise to intriguing and *ambitious men*; who, not content to have the liberty of judging for themselves, set themselves up for judges of other mens faith and consciences, without any tenderness for the scruples of others, or due regard for the peace and welfare of the church.

THE *consequences* of not complying with such subscriptions were originally properly

spiritual ; the being rejected from christian communion, or the being kept out, or thrust out, from the christian ministry ; because, for several ages, the church had not girt on her *carnal sword*, and had neither civil rewards nor punishments at her disposal. But at the council of *Nice*, subscriptions became *more serious* and important things ; and spiritual penalties were not the only ones annexed to non-compliance with the church's authority. This *holy mother* found out severer methods to *punish her refractory children*, and not only spurned them with *great tenderness* from her breasts of salvation, but sent them into banishments and jayls, to undergo a more *sensible discipline* and penance.

FROM the council of *Nice* downwards, subscriptions were the *constant employment* and diversion of the clergy. Councils multiplied, and every council had its new creed, whereby former creeds were sometimes confirmed, and sometimes damned : The same bishops at different times subscribing to orthodoxy and heresy, and to the articles they had condemned, as well as to those they had approved ; changing their faith and principles as best suited the times and their own interest, or rather being *indifferent to all principles* of real christianity, and therefore always *ready to subscribe any* they could get by.

AT the time of the reformation, the same custom continued ; and, though the power of
of

of the *Pope* was renounced, and the *Romish* faith rejected, yet even the *protestant* clergy drew up creeds, confessions, and articles of faith, according to their different persuasions, as standards of orthodoxy, and for the uniformity of religion in every place where they had influence and power ; to which subscriptions were enforced with as much warmth and rigour, as tho' they had been all sure that their different creeds were conformable to the strictest truth, and that they themselves had received a commission from heaven to oblige others to embrace them.

HERE in *England*, in the reign of *Edward VI. Anno. 1551*, the clergy drew up forty-two articles upon the chief points of the christian faith. In the year 1562, under queen *Elizabeth*, these forty-two articles were reduced to the present number of thirty-nine. And in the 13th of the same queen, *Anno. 1571*, an act passed *for ministers to be of sound religion*, obliging every one, under the degree of a bishop, to declare his assent, and subscribe to all the articles of religion, which concern the confession of the true christian faith, agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops in the above-mentioned year 1562. By another act of the 5th of queen *Anne*, for securing the church of *England*, as by law established, this act of the 13th of *Elizabeth*, is declared *to remain and be in full force for ever*. And

what the real intention of such subscriptions is, may be gathered from the nature of the thing, from the express declaration of our own laws concerning them, and the very terms of the subscription required.

ARTICLES of faith, creeds, and formularies, are in their nature summaries of doctrine; and in the opinion of those who draw them up, if christians, summaries of the doctrine of Christ; and therefore he who professes to believe them, must believe them in his heart; and he who subscribes them, must subscribe them as containing articles of faith, and summaries of christian doctrine; because *such* they are *in themselves*, and *as such* offered to his subscription; and such subscription is understood by all men of honesty and integrity, to be the strongest declaration of the subscribers assent to and belief of the articles he subscribes. 'Tis indeed in its nature a more solemn declaration of a person's assent to them than any verbal profession whatsoever; because such subscription is *a recording* the subscriber's assent, who hereby *gives it under his hand*, that he acknowledges the truth of the articles he subscribes, and *perpetuates* by such act, this his assent and belief to posterity. And by consequence, he who *subscribes* articles of faith *without believing* them, subscribes to that *as true* which he knows or believes *to be false*, and is thereby guilty of *a solemn prevarication* before God and Man.

BISHOP

BISHOP *Burnet* observes, upon occasion of the forty-two articles of *Edward VI.*
 * *One notion that hath been since taken up by some, seems not to have been then thought of; which is, that these were rather articles of peace than belief; so that the subscribing was rather a compromise not to teach any doctrine contrary to them, than a declaration that they believed according to them. There appears no reason for this conceit, no such thing being then declared; so that those who subscribed did either believe them to be true, or else they did grossly prevaricate.*

THE act 13 *Elizabeth* sets this matter beyond all doubt, which declares, " That the churches of the queen's majesty's dominions may be served with pastors of sound religion, be it enacted, that every person under the degree of a bishop, &c. shall declare his assent, and subscribe to all the articles of religion; which only concern the confession of the true christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, comprised in a book, intituled, *Articles, &c. for the avoiding the diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion.*"

THIS act therefore was made

1. THAT the church might be furnished with pastors of *sound religion.*

* *Hist. Reform.* Vol. 2. p. 169.

2. EVERY

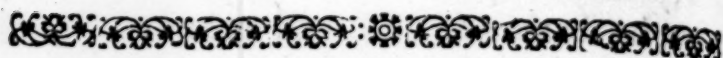
2. EVERY minister is *to declare his assent* to the thirty-nine articles.
3. HE is to subscribe to them *only as they concern the confession of the true faith.*
4. THEY are expressly declared to be made *for avoiding diversities of opinions.*
5. AND for the *establisbing of consent touching true religion.*

So that the act considers them *purely* as articles of faith, and obliges the clergy to subscribe them *only as such*; and for this reason, that there may be *no diversity of opinions*, but *an universal consent* by this means touching true religion. So that *the pretence* of subscribing them as *articles of peace* is directly contrary to the act, that enjoyns the subscribing them; which considers them as *articles of faith*, and orders them under grievous penalties to be subscribed in *that view only*.

AND what is still a farther confirmation of this is, that amongst the canons of 1603, there is one, intituled, *Subscription required of such as are to be made ministers*, which ordains, "That *he alloweth* the book of " articles of religion, agreed upon 1562, " (*i. e.* the thirty-nine articles) and that *he* " *acknowledges all and every the articles* " *therein contained*, being in number thirty- " nine, *to be agreeable to the word of God.*" So that the subscriber actually subscribes them, every

every one, as agreeable to the word of God, after he hath allowed, and acknowledged, and assented to them as such.

KING *James*, in his confirmation of these articles declares, that “ we will not
“ endure any varying or departing in the
“ least degree from the doctrine of the
“ church of *England* now established: and
“ we will, that no man hereafter shall ei-
“ ther print or preach to *draw the article*
“ *aside* any way, but shall *submit to it* in
“ the *plain and full meaning* thereof, and
“ shall *not put his own sense* or comment
“ to be the meaning of the article, but shall
“ *take it in the literal* and grammatical
“ *sense.*” So that every person who sub-
scribes them is *not to subscribe them in any*
private sense of his own, which would not
only be contrary to the order of this our
English Solomon, but to the very act which
appoints the subscription; which orders
the subscription *for avoiding diversity of*
opinion, and for establishing consent touch-
ing true religion; and which therefore could
be intended for no other reasons, but *to o-*
ver-rule men’s private opinions, make them
submit to the opinions of the church, or *lay*
them all under severe penalties who should
refuse to do it.



NUMB. LXXXVI.

Ne quid detrimenti capiat res publica.
CIC.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,
W HATEVER offense may be taken at you, or me, for speaking too freely of the bill for disabling *Alexander Wilson*, Esq; &c. there is one censure which I am persuaded we shall not lie under; to wit, the joining with the disaffected, and the enemies to his Majesty's person and government. It is evident, that no party, or person, noted or even suspected, of disaffection, has in the least meddled with the opposition to it. *They* rightly judge, that they are not concerned in the event; it is the *public* that is concerned; it is *their* cause that is in agitation; it is the cause of the government and of the crown. The city guard of *Edinburgh* is obnoxious to the disaffected, as it is a trophy of the revolution; no equal number of men of their rank having contributed more to the bringing about of that glorious work, or to the preserving the effects of it: And it will not be forgotten, that the
gates

gates of the *Nether Bow Port* were shut against *Mc. Intosh* by the citizens of *Edinburgh*; by which measure they contributed more to the obstructing of the rebellion against his late Majesty, than any other town in the kingdom can boast of.

It is allowed, that the people of *Scotland* in general are so well affected, and have so right a sense of their duty, that there is no reason to apprehend, but that whatever the parliament of *Great-Britain* may think fit to do upon this occasion, it will meet with that right reception that is due to it, and be acquiesced in with the most perfect submission. That this just notion of the people will be attended with a suitable return of affection and tenderness in the legislature, is not to be doubted; and consequently that this bill, which has hitherto proceeded upon a supposition directly contrary to this, will soon meet with the fate that it deserves.

THE people of *Edinburgh* are not the only persons that are concerned in the safety and honour of their city. The whole country have an interest in their capital, and are affected with whatsoever concerns the peace or welfare of it. Their gates and guard are the security of every one that resorts to it. Such a city can not be laid open, but the whole country must suffer with it: And one must have but a low notion of the benefits of the union, to imagine, that so considerable a part of the united kingdom can
re-

ceive such a wound, and the whole not be greatly affected and impaired by it.

WE have been frequently told, indeed, that the several princes and states of *Europe* are considerable in proportion to the number of soldiers that they keep up, and are able at any time to bring into the field. I must own my self not convinced of the truth of that doctrine; and I rather think that the contrary may be demonstrated. Princes are honoured in proportion to the considerableness, the riches, the honour, and the good government, of the nations under their dominion. The disgrace of any people, must reflect a dishonour on their prince. What has his Majesty done to deserve to lose the honour of a royal city? Why must the lustre of the *British* crown be thus stained? Why must the realm be stigmatized? But there is no end of the absurdities that will result, from the extending of any punishment the least whit beyond its due bounds; the distinction between the guilty and the innocent.

I gladly mention one thing, which has happened since my last to you; which is, that a bill is now depending, for bringing to justice the murderers of captain *Porteous*. After a concern for the acquittal of the innocent, honest men will receive a satisfaction from the condemnation of the guilty. For this reason, I hope, that all objections to the passing of this latter bill will be removed,
and

and that none of this hundred and odd fugitives shall have it to object, that they are citizens or inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, and as such are already punished by the former bill. They are, I believe, the only citizens or inhabitants that are proved to be art and part of the riot and murder in question; but I can by no means agree, that the punishment appointed for them by the former bill, is an adequate or proper punishment for their crime. And yet it is an allowed maxim, *that none ought to be punished twice for the same offense*. I hope therefore, that the former bill, so far as it relates to the citizens or inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, will be dropped; rather than these fugitives, or any of them, should be furnished with a plausible objection against the inflicting upon them the punishment due to their crime.

THERE is no affection in human nature so prevalent, as that which regards a city or community; nor can any single party be equally an object of moderation or tenderness. I am sorry there is any need to mention the killing or wounding of the inhabitants of *Edinburgh* by the soldiers quartered in the suburbs, either by shooting in at the ports when the gates have been open, or by firing underneath them when the people have shut them in their own defense. I verily believe, that if the particular soldiers, who may at any time have been guilty of such excesses, could be fixed upon, they would
be

be prosecuted, even by their own officers, with all due severity. And if riots of this kind have not been animadverted upon with the same strictness, as that which has lately happened; I hope it will be attributed, as it certainly ought, to the want of information or accusation, and not to any imagined partiality in the government, to whom the life of an innocent citizen must be as dear, as that of any reprieved criminal whatsoever. The common soldiers are not the best expositors of an act of parliament; and, as in the bill now depending, the *Nether Bow Port* is ordered to be always kept open upon account (as is recited in the bill) that it is necessary that it should be so; I hope there will be sufficient care taken to instruct the soldiers, that the convenience of their shooting at the people, is not the thing referred to by the necessity mentioned in the preamble to this clause; and that notwithstanding that the bill secures to them a communication with the city at all times, as well by night as by day, yet the lives of the inhabitants will be as much under the protection of the laws, as they now are, before the passing of this act: And if any soldier, without the express command of his superior officer, shall think fit to try his archery upon the people in the streets, he will be answerable for the event, as much as any other murderer whatsoever.

It has been usual, in bills of a very extraordinary nature, to insert a clause, that they should not be drawn into precedent in time to come. This carries at least a shadow of security against the example of the bill, tho' experience has shewn it, not to be a very effectual provision. However, if this bill must pass, I could wish, that we had even such a shadow of a security to flatter ourselves with; that the gentlemen of the army might be told, that they must content themselves with the tutelage of a single city; and not expect that the whole kingdom shall be delivered into their hands, town by town, as fast as riots can be raised for that purpose. The taste of power is very intoxicating; and when the military gentlemen have once found the sweets of a superintendency over the civil magistrate, and that such delightful fruit is to be reaped from tumults; I am afraid, we shall soon find, that the harvest of insurrections will not be very scanty.

W H E T H E R there be such a general disaffection in the neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*, as was at first urged as a reason for the bringing in a bill of this nature; or whether there be no disaffection at all, as is now argued, against the entertaining apprehensions of any ill consequences that may attend the passing of such a bill? And in case there is such a disaffection, whether it ought to be removed by a demonstration of that tenderness,

ness, which good governors bear to the people under their care? Or whether it is to be restrained and subdued by measures that may be thought proper for that purpose? And also, what methods may be the fittest for the attaining either of these ends, the *British* parliament will with the greatest wisdom and uprightness determine. And whatever desponding sentiments others may entertain, as that we must either be governed by a mob, or by a military force; for my own part, I yet entertain better sentiments, and better hopes: I cannot look upon a riot happening in a city once in thirty years, to be a government by a mob; nor can I in the least apprehend, that his Majesty is unable to govern his realms by a civil power. The crown sits firm upon his head, and his sceptre is able to exert as much force, as it ever did in the hands of the most glorious of his royal ancestors. These matters are under the consideration of his parliament, who are neither wanting in duty to his Majesty, nor in a just concern for the rights of his people: and it is not to be doubted but their determinations will be such as will (as speedily as possible) remove all uneasy apprehensions from the minds of all good subjects, who wish prosperity to his Majesty's government, and happiness to his people. Their prosperity and happiness depend upon a due preservation of the balance of power, between the several estates which constitute the legislature.

ture. The franchises of the boroughs are the rights of the commons; and unless they are preserved intire, the commons can be no balance against the other estates; but either the crown, or the aristocratical part of the constitution, must prevail, to the destruction of the rest, or rather of the whole. The lords have, upon all occasions, maintained the high dignities with which the constitution has invested them; and it is our happiness that they have done so. They will not therefore take it amiss if the commons shall shew a jealousy of their rights, which have been so often attacked by the enemies of the constitution, and the loss of which, should they ever be given up, must be attended with the ruin of the whole. I am,

S I R,

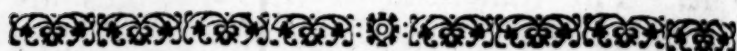
May 27,
1737.

Tours, &c.

HENOTICUS.

U 2

NUMB.



N U M B. LXXXVII.

Id vero minime committendum esse, ut sollicitarentur criminibus dubiis sociorum fidelium animi.

LIV.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

ONE would think that an assertion, that the innocent are not proper objects of punishment, and that it is not right to involve them in any censure with the guilty, would not be much disputed : But cases, it seems, may sometimes be so circumstanced, as that the plainest, clearest, and most unanswerable reasons must give way. The accounts of the destructions of countries, especially where they have happened in accomplishment of prophecies, or divine threatenings, are alleged in objection to this fundamental rule of government, so expressly laid down in *Genesis* xviii. 25. To this I answer, that I do not believe God ever punished a creature that was innocent in his sight. All are obnoxious to death : and the final destruction of a people is no more. Whatever evil God may have justly permitted, the evil still retains its own nature, and the author of that

that evil is unjustifiable. These examples are not set for imitation; but the plain rules of government, one of which is contained in the quotation just now made, still hold their obligation. As to those scripture examples which have their difficulties, they have been many times considered, and the subject is exhausted, particularly by *Grot. De Jure Belli & Pacis, Lib. II. c. 21.*

OTHER precedents have also been ad-
duced from later histories; some of which, it
must be owned, are sufficiently unjust, tho'
they don't go so far as the case in question.
And to shew, that I write impartially, and
for the sake of truth, I shall mention one
myself, stronger than any that I have heard
cited upon this occasion. It is the method
that was taken by *Muley Ishmael*, emperor of
Morocco, to prevent robberies. His way was
immediately, with the assistance of his troops,
to destroy every man, woman and child,
that lived within a certain distance of the
place where the robbery was committed.
This so effectually made it the interest of the
people to root out highwaymen, that for
many years, in the latter part of his reign,
not a robbery was heard of, except those
that his imperial majesty thought fit to com-
mit with his own hands. The expedient
was entirely effectual, and perhaps the only
one ever thought of that would be so. Yet
the example will hardly weigh much with a
British parliament.

BUT to apply to instances of this nature, that are said to be practised among ourselves. It has been pretended, that an innocent inhabitant of a hundred may be fined, upon account of a robbery committed there. To this I answer, that no body, who knows any thing of the matter, will say, that a fine, or any punishment whatsoever, is set upon the inhabitants of the hundred in such case. They are assessed to make satisfaction for the damage, but nothing is inflicted in the name of a punishment: That one innocent man ought, in many cases, to be contributory to the making up of a damage sustained by another innocent man, was never denied. But that is far from the nature of a punishment. It resembles more that of a joint insurance. Nor can I see any difference between the cases, but that the one is established by act of parliament, and the other by private contract. Another case, is that of the forfeitures inflicted upon a whole family, by an attainder; and this must be admitted to be law, however sorry we may be that it is so. That the parliament have disapproved of it, appears by the act 7 *Ann. c. 21. §. 10.* which abolishes these punishments in the case of high treason; and which is to take place at the expiration of one life now in being.

IT is remarkable, that the troops quartered in the suburbs of *Edinburgh* were never asked by any magistrate to enter the city, till the present lord provost thought fit to request

quest it, a little above a year ago, to assist at the execution of a criminal. It was with some reluctance, that the commanding officer was prevailed upon to grant it, and not without some stipulations somewhat resembling the treaty of alliance in the fable of the horse and the stagg. The event shews how dangerous it is to call in such powerful allies.

Non equitem dorso nec froenum depulit ore.

IF the military gentlemen are determined not to slip this opportunity; and are apprehensive that, if the bill be drop'd, it will be said they durst not pass it: I should humbly offer some provisions to be added to the bill, even for their own sakes. It is admitted that the city gates were not strong enough to have obstructed a military force, if the commanding officer had thought himself sufficiently warranted, to have employed his troops in breaking them open: It is also understood, that the officer had a sufficient authority by law, as well from the exigency of the case, as from an express request of the magistrates, to have taken such measures as might have been effectual. What seems to be most wanting, is the sanction of an express law, to authorize the troops to enter the town, even in default of the magistrates and citizens, and without their request or consent. Perhaps they are satisfied, that the words of this bill are full enough, to give

them such an authority. But they will remember, that by the mutiny act, if any officer or soldier shall be accused of any capital crime, or of any violence or offense against the person, estate, or property of any of the subjects, which is punishable by the known laws of the land; the commanding officer is required, upon application to him, to use his utmost endeavour to deliver over such accused person to the civil magistrate, in order to bring him to trial. Now if any complaints shall be made of excesses committed upon occasion of the troops entering the city in default of the magistrates and citizens, which is the case supposed, I'm afraid the officers and soldiers will not find the magistrates and citizens of *Edinburgh* (who are supposed to be the parties first in fault) the fairest judges and jurors: In such case this law must be followed by another, to strip the city of more franchises. How the mutiny act may be framed the next year, I know not; but one would think that this law in question must require great alterations to be made in that. I hope the parliament who pass'd the one, will not pass another so inconsistent with it. The keeping up of the army has hitherto been reserved in the breast of the legislature. And the crown has never been trusted with the consent of parliament for that purpose any longer time than one year. But this bill secures a communication between the suburbs and
the

the heart of a capital city, for the use of the army for ever hereafter. With what face or appearance of gravity can any member move for the consent of parliament for the continuing of the army for one year only, after so full a declaration of the sense of the parliament, that it is to be kept up for ever? What farther consent can a ministry need in any time hereafter? It is certain, that nothing can be a greater spur to military men than their honour, or a higher provocation than an imputation of fear. And to say that they dare not pass this bill, is the most improper way of recommending the rights of the subjects to their consideration. But they must allow the rest of the people, who have been educated under a political and not a military government, to have the greatest fears from the consequences of this bill. I believe there are many such in parliament, and who will not be ashamed to own, that they dare not pass this or any other bill, that they apprehend may be hurtful to his Majesty or to his kingdoms.

BUT I hope we may dismiss our apprehensions. The prosecution is under the controul of a most excellent and gracious prince, whose royal and paternal affection to all his subjects in general, and to his good town of *Edinburgh* in particular, may be depended upon as their happiest patronage and surest defense. And the tenderness in managing the

the prosecution exceedingly confirms this hope. No evidence has been produced, that I can hear of, to affect any citizen of *Edinburgh*, as concerned in the riot, except one barber's servant; and two witnesses have testified, that they have severally conversed with one citizen since the fact, that has justified it. The rest are allowed to entertain that just abhorrence of it that they ought. As the insurrection was too sudden for them to assemble in order to prevent it; they, like good subjects, and in obedience to proclamations that have been usually made upon such occasions, chose to stay within doors, that they might not seem to countenance an outrage which they could not restrain. That no more of the citizens than three are guilty, is what I cannot assert; but it is plain, that the prosecutors of the bill do not desire that any more should be thought guilty, since they produce no proof against any more. Nay, their candor has gone farther: It is from their own witnesses that it appears, that the rumour of an intended riot was not begun in *Edinburgh*, but in the country, at some miles distance. That it was concerted, not by citizens of *Edinburgh*, but by country people, and the relations of those that were killed by the guard under captain *Porteous's* command. That though some of the witnesses, (who must be persons of credit, or else the charge in the bill stands upon no foundation) that tho' these witnesses

walk'd

N^o 87. *The OLD WHIG.* 315

walk'd the streets almost all night, to discover what they could of the rioters; yet none of them could discover any one citizen or inhabitant of *Edinburgh*, except the barber's servant. Whether this proceeds from the innocency of the inhabitants, or from the tenderness of the government, who must be equally sufferers with their subjects in the consequences of this bill; it still confirms our hopes, that the bill shall not pass into a law: that the rights of the commons are not to be diminished: that his Majesty, who is intitled to as much loyalty and gratitude as ever subjects could pay a prince, shall wear his crown in all the brightness that he received it, and shall through his life, which all good men pray may be very long, reign over a people happy and free, and maintain the constitution intire and unhurt.

I am,

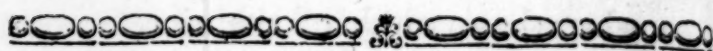
S I R,

June 6,
1737.

Yours, &c.

HENOTICUS.

NUMB.



N U M B. LXXXVIII.

Τάων μοι περὶ κῆρ τιόσκετο Ἰλίου ἱρή.

HOM.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

AS our happy constitution is still intire, and we have the blessing of living under a free government: as his Majesty still reigns over a willing and a loyal people, unstained with any reproach of disaffection or neglect of duty; as every city in his dominions enjoys his royal protection and clemency, and none of them is yet by any law in being (that I know of, or can find) stigmatized with any mark of infamy: You will give me leave, for this once, to please myself with contemplating the happy prospect. How long it may be continued to us; or in what manner the cloud may break, that now hangs over the once, the still, most dutiful and loyal city of *Edinburgh*, for so the laws in being oblige me to stile it; how this cloud may break, God only knows. But while there is any possibility of averting the threatening storm, you will permit me to mention what objections may occur, with regard to

to the passing the law now in question; a law so contrary to the spirit of all former laws of this kingdom, that it is as impossible to find one that is parallel to it, as it will be to set bounds to the dreadful consequences that may follow from it.

THE case of the city of *Glasgow*, in the year 1725, is much insisted on as a precedent, and is asserted to be a case in point. It is indeed in one respect a case in point, or rather a much stronger case. It is a case in point for rejecting the present bill, as it now stands, but by no means a case in point for the passing of it. The inflicting a censure upon the citizens and inhabitants of *Glasgow*, or upon the magistrates and town-council of the city of *Glasgow*, as they are styled, was carefully avoided in that act. The preamble is, that “whereas *Daniel Campbell*, Esq; sustained great losses and damages in a late riot AT *Glasgow*, on account of the concern he had, or was supposed to have had, in promoting the act for laying a duty upon malt for the year 1725; and it being just and reasonable, that the said damages and losses should be made good and repaired to the said *Daniel Campbell*.” The act is merely a satisfaction of damages, and no punishment. Why the damages were to be made good out of the funds of the city of *Glasgow*, rather than out of the public funds of the kingdom, is a point in which the parliament wisely

wisely thought fit to be silent. No mark is set upon the citizens or inhabitants: these still remain his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, and there is no law that forbids them to assume that character, or that fixes a more odious one upon them; whether it was, that in fact the citizens and inhabitants stood as clear upon the evidence as the citizens and inhabitants of *Edinburgh* do in the present case, or whether it was thought impolitic or unjust to brand the then, as well as future, innocent inhabitants of a city with so hateful a distinction. It has been observed, that the act had no ill consequences, for that no riot has happened there since. To impute that to any supposed punishment, is a little ungenerous; for their behaviour during the same space of time before the passing of that act, had been dutiful and laudable, as well as it has been since. Whether every gentleman who voted for that act approves of it now, is what I cannot say. But if the present bill should pass, it is easy to foresee what sentiments every man that assents in it, and has a right concern for the liberties of his country, may soon entertain of it. If the case of *Glasgow* is called a precedent in point for this bill, which goes so much farther; what may not this bill be called a precedent in point for?

THE description of *citizens* and *inhabitants* is a stile new and strange in our laws, however agreeable it may be to the form of
military

military orders. An army can not take notice of a name of incorporation, or the constitution of a town. They lay their contributions upon the towns, without concerning themselves with such distinctions; and in case of failure, they order military execution against all the citizens and inhabitants, without inquiring who is guilty, or who is innocent, which they have very rarely any opportunity of doing. But the case of a legislature is widely different. The parliament is well acquainted with the particular constitution of every corporation in the kingdom, and knows well who they are that must account for the peace and government of a city, and who are discharged from that care, and must consequently be approved, if they only behave themselves peaceably. *The town of Edinburgh and the community thereof* are differently described in several acts of parliament now in force, which record their remarkable zeal for the protestant interest, and their merits towards the crown and the cause of liberty. Merits which are now laid *intirely out of the question*. But I would not stand upon points of form, if the substance can be justified. It may be alleged, that the burgeses and house-keepers are not charged with the guilt now under consideration, and that it is a lower sort of citizens and inhabitants that are supposed, tho' not proved, to be guilty; and that these words are substituted, in order to extend to them.

But

But then it must be considered, that the burgeses are the persons proposed by this bill to be punished, and that the safety of the house-keepers depends upon the prosperity of the town: so that the objects of resentment, and those of punishment, are quite different.

It has been proposed to set a fine upon the town, instead of the two penalties originally in the act. But how proper that may be, in the case of a town, whose debts are so much increased, partly occasioned (as the statute-book informs us) by the unnatural rebellion, deserves mature consideration. It may affect the creditors of the town, who, I think, are not charged with any guilt in this bill.

T H E R E is one argument for this bill, that is very unreasonably urg'd, to wit, that if the bill should be drop'd, it will be attributed to fear, and will betray a weakness in the legislature. This way of reasoning may be equally made use of, to support any bill whatsoever, that is but a pernicious one. Are you afraid of passing such a law? For that very reason it must pass. The people of *Scotland* are own'd and believed by those that have been long acquainted, and are best skilled in them, to be so sensible of their duty, that no ill consequences will arise on their part from the passing of the bill. Are there any ill consequences to be apprehended then from the dropping it? Their sense of duty must be exceedingly partial and unaccountable

ble, if they are ready to acquiesce most humbly, in the inflicting of an unprecedented censure upon themselves, and are not as willing to acquiesce in the waving it. I believe, if the bill be dropped, they will acquiesce with thanks. The parliament will always be intrepid in defending the rights of the commons, or the prerogative of the crown, but not in attacking them. They will not do hurt to a people, merely to shew they dare do it. *Ne quid inausum.* But to take the imputation of fear in a worse sense. Suppose there was a colour (as there is not) to pretend that the bill would raise a rebellion in the nation: Will you run the hazard of a rebellion, only to shew that you are not afraid of it, and how dexterous you are at quelling it again? As much as I esteem the gentlemen of the army, I do not wish them to acquire honour at so dear a rate. The supposition is cruel and inhuman.

THE last argument that I shall consider, is not a less extraordinary one. I mean that which is drawn from the extraordinary length of the session, *viz.* Shall you have employed your selves so long, and taken so much pains about this bill, and shall it end in nothing? Is then the acquittal of the innocent, nothing? Is the asserting the rights of the commons to their franchises, and the prerogative of the crown in walling and fencing of cities, nothing? Is the protecting an ancient royal city so necessary and so dear

to the crown and to the public, nothing? Is it nothing, to repress attempts of reviving those pestilent and destructive animosities, that we hoped had been buried as deep as hell by the sacred act of union? A ministry may prolong a session; but a parliament will never consent to the violating the rights of the commons, or the sapping the foundations of the throne. But there is still more done. A mark of parliamentary detestation is, in another bill now depending, set upon the late riot and barbarous murder: Such a riot as never happen'd in any country, where appeals for murder are allow'd to the relations of the deceased, independent on the crown. And it is hoped, this latter bill may prove effectual. The facts recited in that bill are the same, and the preamble to the same effect, with the bill that is the subject of debate: I mean, so far as the recitals of this bill are proved. For presumptions, especially such light ones as have been talked of upon this occasion, are not proofs. They may be inducements to examine proofs; but when the proofs have been led, and it appears, what presumptions have been supported by the proofs, and which have not, or rather have been contradicted by them; it is then absurd to insist upon presumptions, and in justice they ought to be thrown out of the case, or else the examination of proofs were to little purpose. The provision of an act of parliament, as is generally

nerally understood, ought to be adequate to the preamble. And when two bills are depending with the same preamble and different provisions, and collateral to each other, and neither of them relative or supplemental to the other, it would seem that one of them, at least, is improper, in reciting matter that it does not duly provide for. In such case, is it not necessary, in point of form at least, to drop one of them, that the other may stand unexceptionable?

I ask pardon for taking up so much of your time and of your paper. It is a work I am not used to: and if I had thought, either that the government could consist without a House of Commons; or that a House of Commons could be of any importance, after the franchises of cities and boroughs are lost; or that those rights could stand in any degree of safety, after the setting a precedent of this nature; you should not have had any trouble from,

S I R,

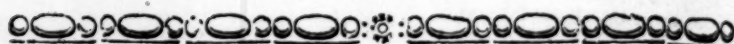
Yours, &c.

June 11.
1737.

HENOTICUS.

X 2

NUMB.



N U M B. LXXXIX.

*Quod si voto fortuna subscripserit, agrum
habebimus salubri cælo, uberi gleba.*

Columel. Lib. I. Cap. 2. § 3. Edit.
Gesner.

THE present thirty-nine articles of the church of *England*, made in the year 1562, relate part of them to *discipline*, and part of them to *matters of faith*. The act of parliament, 13 *Eliz.* 1571, which injoyns the subscription of them upon every person under the degree of a bishop, particularly specifies the nature of that subscription, *viz.* that the person shall *declare his assent*, and *subscribe to all the articles of religion, which ONLY CONCERN the confession of the true christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments.* 'Tis worth observing here,

I. THAT this subscription to the articles is to be preceded by a *solemn declaration* of the subscribers *assent* to the truth of the articles he subscribes. And this appears not only by the terms of the act of parliament, but by the canons of 1603, which are the present canons of our established church; the thirty-sixth of which ordains, that *no person shall hereafter be received into the*
mini-

ministry, nor either by institution or collation admitted to any ecclesiastical living, &c. except he shall first subscribe to three articles, of which this is one: That he allows the book of articles of religion agreed upon in 1562, and acknowledgeth all and every the articles therein contained, being in number thirty-nine, to be agreeable to the word of God. And accordingly the form of subscription is very strict: I N. N. DO WILLINGLY and EXANIMO subscribe to these three articles above-mentioned, and to all things contained in them. So that the subscriber doth willingly and from his soul subscribe, that the thirty-nine articles, and all things contained in them, are agreeable to the word of God. And in no other secret, or concealed, sense can he possibly subscribe to them, without contradicting the very form and nature of the subscription itself; because, to subscribe to them as articles of peace, or as a ceremony only to take possession of a living, is a quite different thing from what the subscriber expressly and openly declares, viz. that he assents to them as articles of religion, and willingly, and from his soul, acknowledges, that all things contained in them are agreeable to the word of God.

2. THAT the subscription required by act of parliament is not to all these articles in general, but to those of them ONLY which concern the confession of the true christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments.

This is evident from the clause, *which only concern the confession of the true christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments*; a clause which would have been *intirely unnecessary* and useles, had all the thirty-nine articles been intended to have been established. I know the canon before-mentioned goes farther, and extends the subscription to the whole thirty-nine articles, and all things contained in them as agreeable to the word of God. But I suppose those canons, whicy never had the confirmation of parliament, cannot extend this subscription beyond, and contrary to, the exprefs limitation of the said act. So that the clergy of our established church are not obliged to subscribe to any more of the thirty-nine articles, than those only which concern the confession of the true christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments; and the canon, which pretends to oblige them to subscribe them all as agreeable to the word of God, is *an imposition* upon them, which hath no authority of parliament to support it, and which therefore I presume our clergy may legally refuse to comply with.

3. As these thirty-nine articles are the standards of *sound religion*, contain *a confession of the true christian faith*, and were agreed to by the archbishops and bishops, for the *avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for establishing of consent touching true religion*, all which the act of parliament,

13 *Eliz.* (made perpetual by 5 *Anne*) expressly declares ; the clergy of our church must not only, when they subscribe them, actually believe them, but are obliged *never to maintain* any opinion contrary to them. When they deviate from the articles, they depart from the confession of the true christian faith which they have once subscribed, and from that sound religion which the parliament hath established. They fall from that consent, touching true religion, which the parliament ordained, into that diversity of religion which the parliament would have avoided. They enter upon their livings and cures with a solemn profession before God and man of their assenting *ex animo* to this parliamentary christianity ; and the moment they preach contrary to it, they retract the solemn assent they have given ; become proper dissenters from the church of *England*, and are liable to be deprived of their ecclesiastical benefices.

THE act 13 *Eliz.* expressly provides,
 “ that if any person ecclesiastical, or which
 “ shall have ecclesiastical living, shall ad-
 “ visedly maintain or affirm any doctrine di-
 “ rectly contrary, or repugnant to any of
 “ the said articles, and being convened, &c.
 “ shall persist therein, or not revoke his er-
 “ ror, or after such revocation, eftssoon af-
 “ firm such untrue doctrine ; such main-
 “ taining or affirming and persisting, or such
 “ eftssoon affirming, shall be just cause to

“ deprive such person of his ecclesiastical
 “ promotion ; and it shall be lawful to the
 “ bishop of the diocese, &c. to deprive such
 “ person, &c. and upon such sentence of de-
 “ privation pronounced, he shall be indeed
 “ deprived.”

THE sound and true religion established by act of parliament for all our reverend clergy, under the degree of a bishop, for our bishops seem to be *wisely* left at liberty as to their religion, is this, which *faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly*: “ That there are three persons un-
 “ create, incomprehensible, almighty, and
 “ eternal, and yet *not three uncreates*, al-
 “ mighty, incomprehensibles, and eternal;
 “ and that tho’ the father *is of none*, the
 “ son *of the father*, and the Holy Ghost
 “ *of the father and the son*, yet that
 “ there is *none afore or after the other* ;”
 that *original sin* is the *fault* and corrup-
 tion of the nature of every man, which in
 every person born into this world *deserveth*
 God’s *wrath* and damnation ; that we *have*
 no power to do good works without the
 grace of God by Christ preventing us ; that
 good works *follow after* justification, and
 that works done *before inspiration* have
 the nature of *sin* ; that predestination is *full*
 of *sweet*, pleasant and unspeakable *comfort*
 to some, and a most *dangerous downfall* that
 thrusts others into *desperation*, or wretch-
 less-

lessness of *most unclean living*; and finally, that tho' sometimes *the evil have chief authority* in the ministration of the word and sacraments, yet that they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and *do minister by his commission* and authority, and that therefore we may use their ministry.

THIS is that confession of the true faith which all our clergy are obliged, by a perpetual act of parliament, to make; this that excellent and *incomparable christianity*, to which they do *ex animo* subscribe, and which as the condition of receiving and keeping their livings, they are obliged to preach. So that if any of them should deny, or preach, or write against the doctrine of the *one-three incomprehensibles*, or the *damnation due* to the corruption of every man's nature that is ingendred of the offspring of *Adam*, or teach that men have *any natural free-will* or power to do good, or that good works precede justification, or have not the nature of sin before inspiration; or that predestination is *not sweet, and a most dangerous downfall*, or that evil men are not Christ's commissioned officers: He is no *sound minister* in the judgment of our parliamentary church, departs from the confession of the true established christian faith, and without revoking these wicked errors, is liable to certain deprivation. And the act of parliament that establishes this christianity is made perpetual.

I congratulate this reverend body upon so solemn and *sure an establishment*, in that they are thus saved *the trouble of inquiry* and examination, and the church in which they minister is so effectually preserved from *all fluctuation and novelty* in doctrine! The act of parliament, gentlemen, points out *the sound religion* you are to believe, and you are solemnly to receive and assent to it, as *the very condition* of your livings. Should you be *over inquisitive* about what you believe, it may *do you harm*; or should you look *farther than the act* for the nature of your christianity, it may *raise scruples* you cannot easily lay, and make the entrance into your livings and preferments both narrow and dangerous. A subscription, to articles that have an unalterable sanction, made perpetual, can surely be founded on nothing else, but *a real inspiration* vouchsafed to the imposers; for to suppose them *liable to mistake*, would be to suppose it possible, that they might *have established error*, and rendered it perpetual. Since therefore your articles of religion are the very sum and substance, *the very marrow and quintessence* of christianity, hold fast the sacred depositum. Continue to subscribe *with the same sincerity* you have always done; and by your preachings and sermons go on to convince the world in your usual manner, that you don't assent and subscribe purely for livings and preferments, but from the intire
per-

persuasion and full conviction of your consciences.

SHOULD you have any doubt concerning the christian faith which the parliament hath prescribed you, may you not be asked; what are you *wiser than the wisdom* of our excellent church? Have not the *foundations* been well settled by public authority, and doth it become you to dispute or shake them? Stedfast and immoveable is the foundation you are built on. Stedfast and immoveable be then your faith and practice. *Novelists* may wish a change, and *men of liberty* may plead for an exemption. But you, gentlemen, are the friends of *venerable antiquity*; and *novelty*, which is every day *varying her features*, can have no charms to captivate you. And as to *liberty*, she hath been long since censured, *exploded*, and banished, by the church, as an enemy to her *sacred mysteries*, divine rights and privileges. To liberty, as irreconcilable *with the claims* of authority and the duties of submission, she hath in all ages proclaimed the most steady and determined hatred. Her interest is separate from it, and the decisions of all the councils and synods ever since the times of the apostles have made it appear that she thought it so.

OUR own excellent church hath asserted to her self *power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith*. And to the truth of this claim, our *canonical*

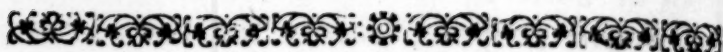
cal clergy are every day subscribing. But what can this authority amount to, if she can't *inforce her determinations* in these controversies of faith by a subscription? And how will her authority sink, if *after having determined*, she should be found to *alter her mind*, and vary from her first judgment?

IF the *design* of the act, which inforces the subscription, *be wise* and good, *viz.* that *diversity of opinions may be avoided, and consent touching true religion be established*; and if subscriptions are a proper method to accomplish this design; I think these subscriptions should be insisted on, and rendered as universal as consent in religion ought to be. And therefore I would with the humblest submission to my superiors in church, propose an addition to the form of subscription: *I N. N. do willingly and ex animo subscribe to these articles, and to all things contained in them, and am determined to believe them so long as I live, any books, articles, convictions, or persuasions to the contrary notwithstanding.* This would be a good buttress to the pillar of the church, and would make the ground she stands upon stronger and surer.

AND as by virtue of our excellent constitution, no places of profit, or trust, or pension, &c. can be enjoyed under our princes, but by persons *who believe, and are in a state of grace*, and give the evidence and
proof

proof of both by receiving the sacrament ; so I would propose, purely for the advantage of our excellent church, and the better establishing of consent touching true religion, that not only the members of both houses of parliament, but that all persons whatsoever, of every sex, dignity, employment, and occupation whatsoever, shall immediately after their being of the age of one and twenty, declare their assent, and make their subscription in the same form the clergy now do, with the addition I have proposed.

IF such subscriptions were rendered thus general, all persons would be of *the same faith* ; however, it would be some advantage and shelter to our clergy ; they would not then be almost the only men in the nation, who subscribe to articles they don't believe, and profess their assent *ex animo* to doctrines for the sake of livings, which as soon as ever they have got possession of by this means, their sermons do directly, and almost, perpetually contradict.



N U M B. XC.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

AS you are a rational and *Consistent Protestant*, it must have often roused your indignation to observe the cheats put by *Romish* priests upon the unwary souls of men. Some of these the scripture calls *forcery*; they are a kind of *spiritual magic*, or an art of making men religious, and of sending them to heaven without any real holiness or virtue at all. This is a device most dangerous in its consequence, destructive of civil order, prejudicial to the peace and welfare of societies, and infinitely injurious and disgraceful to christianity.

RELIGION no further deserves *civil* notice and encouragement, than it tends to promote justice, truth, and other social virtues, and to guard our *civil* rights: Whatever religion therefore, or pretended rites of religion, give men encouragement to expect the favour of God and happiness after death *in the neglect* of these virtues, yea, *in the actual violation* of them, it so far undermines the foundation of civil government, dissolves the bands of society, and cannot merit

merit to be countenanced by the state. That the *Popish religion* most egregiously does this by its pardons, indulgences, absolutions, &c. we evidently see, and therefore warmly protest against it.

BUT is there nothing of *this same sorcery*, this art of making men religious without any real goodness, practised amongst us? Are there no priests, but those of *Rome*, chargeable with thus *dangerously cheating* the souls of men? Nothing amongst protestants that tends to weaken the obligations of moral virtue, and strikes at the very foundations of civil society?

AS no human production is perfect at once; as the most exquisite works of art became not thus exquisite but by frequent reviews; as some of the greatest prelates and brightest ornaments of our church have not only acknowledged some things in its constitution and forms would admit of alteration, but have even wish'd and labour'd for it; and as we are once a year taught to *lament the want of godly discipline*, and to pray that it may be restored; upon all these accounts, 'twill not, I hope, be thought presumption, if, with the frankness of an *Old Whig* and a *Free Briton*, I observe some things in our own church which carry too great appearance of this *spiritual juggle* or *sorcery* of the church of *Rome*. What otherwise can we think of three of its prescrib'd
rites,

rites, *confirmation, absolution, and the burial of the dead?*

By the *first* of these, all persons baptized, when come to competent age, and able to say the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the ten Commandments, and the shorter Catechism, are to be brought to confirmation: The bishop having ask'd, *whether they renew the solemn promise and vow that was made in their name at baptism?* upon their answering *we do*, declares in the most public and solemn manner, even in an *address to God himself, that he has vouchsafed to regenerate these his servants by water and the Holy Ghost, and to give them the forgiveness of all their sins*; and laying his hands upon the head of each particular person *he certifies him by that sign of God's favour and gracious goodness toward him.*

Now this *bishop* they are taught to look upon as the ambassador of Jesus Christ, and a successor of the apostles, who had power to remit sins: and when they hear this venerable person thus solemnly declaring that *God hath regenerated and forgiven them*; who can wonder if they really believe themselves to be so; and upon these grounds indulge a confident security as to the favour of God and happiness in a future world?

AND seeing a *full remission of sins, &c.* is to be had on such easy terms, what wonder

der that at our country visitations thousands are seen flocking from all parts to be *bishoped*; many of them with *like merriment* as if going to a revel; and even persons of very vitious and profligate characters thrusting themselves in to partake of *this grace*? And I add, what wonder if these deluded creatures, thinking their old score thus fully quitted, should with fresh vigour begin a new one; and conclude the day (which is often the case) with drunkenness, riot and shameful excess?

THAT the poor ignorant and unthinking part of the people should be thus easily deluded, by specious pretences of sacerdotal power, and willing to receive imposition of hands to certify them of God's goodness and favour in their regeneration and pardon, without parting with their vices, and the trouble of repentance, is not so strange: but that such learned, such wise and pious men, as our reverend bishops are, who know the aptness of mankind to deceive themselves by false hopes, and the infinite folly and danger of their so doing; that *these* should thus contribute to lull them asleep, and without knowing their hearts, or a due inquiry into their lives, declare them in the presence of God regenerated and pardoned, is a conduct truly surprising, and not easily to be accounted for.

WHAT warrant, in the name of Christ, have they solemnly to pronounce *that a*

man's sins are all forgiven, and that he is regenerated by the Holy Ghost, upon no other grounds than his being able to say the Lord's Prayer; answering to the questions of the short Catechism, and his professing that he does and will stand by his baptismal engagement? Is this the notion our right reverend prelates entertain of regeneration? Or, do they really believe this to be the condition of pardon? Will a mere *profession* procure a certain and full forgiveness from almighty God? Are good vows and resolutions, declared in the church, infallible proofs of a regeneration by the Holy Ghost? Is promising that a man *will repent* and live godly in the world, *that actual repentance* which alone secures the divine favour? Do not our learned bishops know, that there are multitudes who *call Christ their Lord, i. e.* who profess their resolution to stand to their baptismal covenant, who yet shall be rejected by him *as workers of iniquity*? By what authority then, or with what face, can a venerable prelate stand up and declare to ALMIGHTY GOD *that he has vouchsafed to regenerate and forgive*——? The expressions are couched in the most absolute and the strongest terms; there is no condition implied; no intimation that their forgiveness depends upon their care to keep, and to live up to, their baptismal engagements: no; but let them have lived many years in a course of drunkenness, &c. yet upon their be-
ing

ing able to say the Lord's Prayer, &c. and promising they will repent, &c. the bishop solemnly pronounces a most absolute pardon on them; and lifting up his eyes to heaven, appeals to God that he has *given them forgiveness of all their sins*; and lest this should be too little to satisfy the sinner, or not sufficient perfectly to allay his fears, he lays *his sacred hand* on him, and tells *almighty and everlasting God*, that he doth it *after the example of his holy apostles to certify him by this token, of his favour and gracious goodness to him, i. e.* that he is forgiven and regenerated by the Holy Ghost.

'Tis surely no uncharitable supposition that, amongst the vast crouds which present themselves on such occasions, there *may be*, and often *are*, a great number, whom *the searcher of hearts* sees to be men of worldly and corrupt minds, and to be still under the prevailing power of their lusts: How then dares the bishop thank God *that he hath fully forgiven these his servants*; when God at that very time knows them *not to be his servants*, and hath *not at all* forgiven them? Or how will he presume to lay his hand on the heads of *such*, to *assure them of God's gracious favour* to them, *i. e.* of their regeneration and forgiveness; when they are absolute strangers to repentance, and can have no claim or title to the blessedness attending it? Is not this to address heaven

with a falshood upon the tongue, and in a very dangerous and bold manner to trifle with God and man? 'Tis presumption surely in any, who cannot search the heart, to pronounce in so absolute and unconditionate a manner, concerning any of his fellow creatures, *that God hath forgiven him all his sins, and regenerated him by the Holy Ghost*: The apostles themselves durst not thus pronounce upon any christians in their days; unless by the immediate suggestion of the holy spirit: How then came their successors to be thus more *knowing* and *powerful*? should I not rather say, more *rash* and *presumptuous* than they? But see into what absurdities such pretensions involve men. We are told, *Acts* viii. the chapter from which this practice of confirmation is pretended to be proved, but which really says not one word of the matter, that *Simon Magus* believed and was baptised, and continued some time making a credible profession of christianity. No question but he could say the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, and answer to some of the questions too in the short Catechism. Now had one of our bishops been to *visit Samaria* at that time, he would *without scruple* have prayed over this impostor, laid hands on him, and with ghostly eyes lift up to heaven, have informed God of this wonderful secret; that *he had forgiven him all his sins, and regenerated him by the Holy Ghost*. But might
not

not God have justly rebuked the insolence of such a prelate, when he from whom nothing could be hid well knew, that *Simon's* profession was an accursed dissimulation, and that even after his baptism *his heart was not right with God*, and that *he was yet in the gall of bitterness, and bond of iniquity*; as *Peter* and *John* soon took the liberty to certify him.

LET us *in the name of God*, and as *Consistent Protestants*, enter our protest against all such remains of *Popish* superstition, and purge our church and religion from them: then only shall we rescue the one from its greatest danger, and the other from that scorn and reproach under which it has so long struggled. Infidels will laugh, they will insult and triumph too, whilst they have such occasions given them: nor will it be in the power of the heartiest friends of our established church to vindicate her doctrines or practices, whilst superstitions and follies of this kind remain, against the force of their objections, unless we call in the civil power strenuously to confute, and absolutely to silence them: a method that will bring infamy upon that church that uses it, and be the ruin of true religion, instead of the defence and support of it!

SOME thoughts upon the two other subjects, viz. *absolution*, and *the burial of the dead*, may imploy some future paper.

I am, *S I R*, Yours,

PAULUS.



N U M B. XCI.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

MENS *hopes* and *fears*, as to the favour of God, being the great support of *religion* and *virtue* upon earth, 'tis of infinite importance that *these* be set right; a faithful and wise clergy therefore, who teach men true religion, and by their discourses keep the people from the *false hopes* and *false fears* into which ignorance and superstition naturally lead them, are a great blessing to a nation, and as useful ministers in the state as any it employs. I sincerely rejoyce in the great number of this character amongst the clergy of our established church, and bid them *God speed*. But these we find often owning it both one of the chief duties and chief difficulties of their office, to keep men attentive to the fatal consequence of vice, and to prevent their being lull'd into a dangerous security, or stupor of mind. Hence their many discourses, directed with so much clearness and force at this point: But why to so little purpose? Why, such numbers who weekly hear them, yet indulging to lewdness, to knavery, and various

various excesses, are easy in their villainy, and promise themselves peace? It becomes surely an *Old Whig* and a *true Protestant* to search into the cause of so fatal a phenomenon, fatal to the true interest both of church and of state, and to endeavour its cure. One cause of this unhappiness was suggested in a former paper, *viz.* some footsteps of *Popish sorcery*, which are yet found amongst us, *i. e.* an art of making men religious without any real virtue, or the encouragement given them to hope for God's favour, whilst destitute of moral rectitude and purity of heart.

THAT the rite of *confirming*, as practised in our church, too apparently gives this dangerous encouragement, has already been shewn: There are two other of our public offices which stand liable to the same charge, *viz.* *The absolution of sick penitents, and the burial of the dead.* In the former, the sick person being *moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter, after such confession the priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort: Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences; and* BY THE AUTHORITY COMMITTED TO ME, I ABSOLVE THEE FROM ALL THY SINS, IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND OF

THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST.* The form is extremely solemn; and the matter of the last importance; it deserves therefore to be inquired,

I. *What* and *where* is that church to which Christ has left this power? By what marks is it to be known, that we may all fly to it to receive so extraordinary a benefit? Is it to the catholic and universal church, or to any national or provincial church? Or, is it to every particular society of worshipping christians that this high power is left? In what persons is it lodged? with the whole *body of the people*, who, according to scripture language, and the doctrine of our own articles, are properly called *the church*; or with the *ministers* or *clergy*, who are never so called? In the former part, 'tis said to be *left to the church*; but in the latter the priest claims it as *his peculiar*, a special trust appropriated to himself; (*by the authority committed to ME*;) to which, when his claim shall have been fully proved, his character shall be confess'd *indelible and sacred*; and incense and the knee be offered him as the representative of Christ upon earth. But,

II. T H A T our lord Jesus Christ *hath* committed, *can* commit no such power to any fallible man, or body of men on earth, is most indisputably evident. For, if Christ hath given power to any *authoritatively* to

* Vide order for the visitation of the sick in the book of Common Prayer.

ABSOLVE *those who are truly penitent*, he must also have given them power to KNOW *who are truly penitent*; else 'tis a power to do just nothing: For till they know them to be truly penitent (*i. e.* till they can search their hearts) they cannot *authoritatively absolve* them; and if they cannot do it till *then*, they cannot do it at all: So that 'tis really a *power to do* what they cannot do, or a power to do nothing. And is *this* a power fit either for Christ to leave, or a wise clergy in this age of free inquiry to claim? Further,

III. HAD the priest any real authority from Christ *authoritatively* to absolve from sin, yet surely he here greatly errs in the application of it. The terms on which he absolves are by far too *general* and *lax*. Upon a *special confession* of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter, the priest is directed to absolve the sinner. But is a *meer confession* of sin all the gospel demands, in order to its forgiveness? Must it not be *forsook* and *broken off* as well as *confessed*? Are not the most debauched, when sickness seizes, and death is thought to approach them, wont to *feel their conscience troubled*, — readily to confess their sin, to express great sorrow, to vow amendment if spared. — But when the danger is blown off, is it hardly ever seen that they return not to their crimes with as mad a gust as before? Is there one of a thousand who
remem-

remembers and performs the vows of his sick bed?

THIS our worthy clergy know, and often publicly complain of, when they press to *present* repentance: and yet — hard and unhappy lot! in direct contradiction to this sense of their own mind, to the express terms upon which pardon is promised in the gospel, and to their most solemn and public warnings *not to trust* to such sick-bed sorrows; in contradiction to all these, when the sick sinner sends for them, and thus confesses and laments his sins, and desires absolution, they are directed and required, with all possible solemnity, even in the NAME OF THE FATHER, SON, AND HOLY GHOST, to absolve him from *all* his crimes, and declare him fully forgiven. Strange trifling both with heaven, and the immortal souls of men! How dare I, *in the name of the sacred Trinity*, ASSURE a man that he is absolved from all his sins, when I am *not sure* he is absolv'd? Yea, how dare I thus assure him, when the only grounds of my doing it are but the *same signs* of repentance which a thousand sinners give, who are yet held under the power and guilt of their crimes?

IN a court of human judicature, what would that man be deem'd, who should declare, in the *name of God*, a thing *to be done*, which he is *not sure is done*? Or call heaven to witness to the certainty of what he is not at all certain of? Is it *less* wicked thus

to

to trifle in *eternal* affairs, than in *temporal*; in the *church*, than in the *state*; in the court of God, than of the *King*? Less criminal and profane *in the name of the sacred Trinity*, to declare a man *to be* forgiven, who *may not be* forgiven; or in other words, to call God to record the *truth of that*, which (perhaps) is all the while *a gross falsehood*?—No longer let us wonder that *cries of priestcraft* are poured in such dreadful volleys upon our church, as seem to shake its very basis, and I wish may not indanger its welfare and very being.— I add,

IV. ANOTHER absurdity in this dangerous and delusive form is, that though the confession be but *special*, the absolution is *general*. If his conscience be troubled with any weighty matter, he is to make a *special confession*; and this procures him a *general pardon*; he is absolved from ALL his sins. But, by what logic? or from what scripture is this inference drawn, that a contrition for *some sins*, shall obtain forgiveness of *all sins*? Or that my acknowledging to the priest some particular great crimes, for which my conscience troubles me, shall get the full remission of all the many errors and crimes of my whole life?

WELL—but the sick man dies—he liv'd a vicious and debauch'd life, was a known drunkard, adulterer—but when his last sickness came, he trembled at the thought of death—sent for the priest, confessed his sin,
and

and desired to be absolved: The priest by *authority committed to him*, in the most solemn form of words the wisdom of men or angels can devise, even *in the name of the Father, &c.* pronounces and declares him absolved from all his sins. The unhappy person thus dead—comes now to be buried. Here the priest, in the face of a vast crowd who knew the man's wicked life (yea, tho' he gave not the least sign of sorrow for his sin, and was known by them all not to have given it, but was cut down, perhaps, in the very act of some enormous villainy: Notwithstanding this, the priest before them all) solemnly declares, *that God hath taken to himself the soul of this our dear brother — gives him hearty thanks that it hath pleased him to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world — and prays, that when we shall depart this life we may rest in him (Christ) as our hope this our brother doth.* What can the attending crowd think of all this? If they think at all, it must be either,

FIRST, that what the priest hath said is true, and may be depended on as the word of God, whose ambassador he is supposed to be: and if so — my neighbour notwithstanding the debauchery in which he lived, is now in a safe state — there is no such need of virtue to prepare a man for the future world as preachers, yea, as our priest himself is wont to tell us—remission may be had
in

in this world, and salvation in the other, without breaking off my sins.— If I can but in my last moments confess them to the priest, he is authorised by the holy Trinity to grant me full forgiveness.— I shall have peace therefore, though I go on *to add drunkenness to thirst*; and however vicious my life be, may have hope in my death that I shall *rest in Christ*, as the priest tells me *this our brother* doth. Thus must a man reason if he *believes* what the priest says. But,

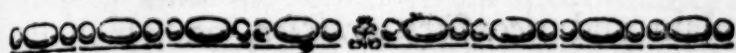
SECONDLY, if these pretensions and expressions be examined but by common sense, they appear to be all a *solemn farce*, a *shocking and gross delusion*; a dangerous encouragement to careless and immoral living; subversive of good order and virtue upon earth; calculated to advance the power of priests, and stupify and enslave the consciences of men.— It is a public declaration of the priest that he hopes for that, which in many cases 'tis impossible he should hope for. There are numbers of our wise clergy who groan under these unhappy forms, and sincerely wish them removed: Why, *in the name of God*, are they not removed? Or if this cannot be obtained, why are they not more zealously and *openly* disavowed? Our church is daily dishonoured and weakened by these practices. Infidelity gains on it *here*, Popery *there*.— And what are many of its priests?—the contempt of the learned; the jest of the polite; the scoff of the mob?

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The *principles*, if not the *numbers*, of those who visibly depart from her every day get ground; the disaffection to her, I speak it with concern, increases; and God alone knows to what height 'twill soon run, if a remedy be not seasonably applied: A church so unequally pois'd, with the *weight* of immense revenues and grandeur on one hand, and with the *lightness* of superstitious forms and enormous claims on the other, can never be *well established*; she may have friends, but not amongst the thoughtful and virtuous part of mankind; she may be in no immediate danger from any human opposition; but can never stand upon a solid foundation of security, as having the principles of dissolution in her very frame. God almighty open the eyes, and unite the hearts of all its true friends, to understand and pursue the things which make for its peace.

PAULUS.

N U M B.



N U M B. XCII.

Sancti apostoli, fidem Christi prædicantes, quæcunque necessaria crediderunt, omnibus credentibus, etiam his qui pigriores erga inquisitionem divinæ scientiæ videbantur, manifestissime tradiderunt.

THE act of the 13th of *Elizabeth*, intitled, *An Act for Ministers to be of sound Religion*, which imposes the thirty-nine articles upon all priests and ministers under the degree of a bishop, *so far only as concerns the confession of the true christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments*, is confirmed by the 5th *Ann.* which declares that *it shall remain and be in full force for ever.*

THERE are, I know, many of the clergy of our excellent church, who think these articles a *grievous imposition*; and wish either that there was no subscription at all imposed on them, or at least that *the terms* of the subscription were left *more general* and open; and upon this subject they make use of such kind of arguments as these:

I. THAT the *most antient* creeds of the christian church were *short* and simple, and did not enter into any *curious disputes* and nice intricacies concerning *abstruse* and *speculative*

culative points; but related only to those plain and *necessary articles*, on which the *very being* of christianity evidently depended, and by which alone the profession of it could be supported amongst mankind. This appears from the creeds and formularies that are still extant in the sacred books, and in those of the most early writers of the christian church; and therefore, as bishop Burnet observes, it *seems somewhat strange to see such a collection of tenets*, as the thirty-nine articles contain, *made the standard of the doctrine of a church, that is deservedly valued by reason of her moderation*. This *seems to be a departing from the simplicity of the first ages, which yet our church pretends to set up for her pattern*. 'Tis urged farther,

2. THAT the imposing subscriptions to articles of faith is in itself the exercise of *an unreasonable and undue power*. The apostles have given no direction or commission about so important an affair; nor is it ever reckoned by them amongst *the standing functions* of the church; and *unless it is certain that the church, which so imposes, cannot err*; it is, to use bishop Burnet's words, *a bold assuming of an authority to which no fallible body of men can have a right*. Every man's own conviction and judgment is to him the rule of his own faith; and as every private person may, even after the utmost care in his inquiries,

fall

fall into some particular errors and mistakes; so may also any body of men, who are only a collection of several particular persons, every one of them liable to error: And as it would therefore be highly presumptuous in any single person to impose his own opinions on others, because he is not secure from mistake himself; it must be equally presumptuous in any body of men to make such impositions, because no one is more infallible, being the member of such a body, than he was in his own private and single capacity.

THIS will easily be allowed by the clergy to be true of the laity. But as for the clergy themselves, they are, if you will believe some of them, *the repositories of divine truth; they have received apostolic ordination, and in that the very gift of the Holy Ghost; and besides, Christ hath promised to be with them to the end of the world:* So that the clergy are *creed makers* by profession, and *creed imposers* by office, power, and authority. But whatever prerogatives they may any of them claim, 'tis evident from their character and behaviour throughout all ages of the christian church, that they have not only been equally subject to the passions and vices of other men, but to be led away by dangerous and pernicious errors; almost all the things that have been *stigmatized as heresies*, having proceeded from *their mint*, been first broach-

ed, and then propagated by them amongst others.

I may add upon this head, that 'tis the greater presumption in the clergy of our church to pretend to this imposing power; because that tho' our 20th article affirms, that *the church hath authority in matters of faith*, yet as the church is declared to be by the 19th article, *a congregation of faithful men*, so the authority in matters of faith spoken of must therefore be asserted as of right *belonging to the congregation*, and not to *the clergy*, who are or should be only *the ministers* and servants of the church, and not *the lords of the christian heritage*.

3. WHEREAS the book of articles is intitled, *For the avoiding of diversities of opinion, and for the stablishing consent touching true religion*, it may be observed, that the imposition of articles upon others never did, nor can, answer the end proposed by it. 'Tis in the nature of things impossible, that the opinion of any one man, or body of men, can of itself be a rule or reason for any other man's belief. If men inquire and think at all, they must form their judgments by what appears reason and evidence to them, and not by what appears evidence to others, of which they oftentimes can know nothing at all, and when they do, as often find to be false and defective. And whatever may be due to the considerations of peace and union,

union, yet, as the reverend author before-mentioned observes, *if after all possible methods of inquiry, a man cannot master his thoughts, or make them agree with the public decisions, his conscience is not under bonds, since this authority (of the church) is not absolute, nor grounded upon a promise of infallibility.*

AND agreeable to this reasoning, we find by experience, that the pressing and enforcing subscriptions upon others hath never in fact *prevented diversities of opinion*; much less *established consent touching true religion*. When *this trade* of subscription was first brought in by the council of *Nice*, what was the immediate effect? An universal submission to that council's decrees, and an agreement of the different parties in the doctrine established by it? Far from it. The persons condemned by it, held stilly their former principles, propagated them with greater warmth and earnestness, and laboured with greater zeal to increase the number of their favourers and adherents; till at length the whole christian church was torn in pieces, and divided into furious factions, to the grief of its few real friends, and the offense and triumph of its enemies.

THE *Papists* indeed have boasted of *the unity* of their church, and reproached the protestants with the diversities of opinions that have ever since the reformation abounded amongst them. But 'tis well known by all

who know any thing of their history, that this boast is supported by falshood. The very doctrine of *transubstantiation* itself was in the ninth century a very long subject of debate, and engaged the pens of the most learned men of that age. And to add no more, the very doctrines of grace are to this day a bone of contention amongst the *Romish* clergy: nor hath the infallibility of the papal chair been able to put an end to the controverfy, nor to bring the divided parties to a settled agreement. But had it been true that there had been no diversity of opinions amongst the *Romish* clergy, to what must we have assigned it as the real cause? What, to the imposition of articles by church authority? The church of *Rome* well knew that her *mere decisions* could never answer such an end, and that her pretences to infallibility could never prevent diversities of opinions: She therefore applied more effectual and *sensible methods*; and when she could not convince, or bribe to silence, determined to persecute and destroy. Crusades, massacres, fire and sword, and the complicated horrors and cruelties of the inquisition, were her violent remedies against diversities of opinions, and her dreadful expedients to *establish consent* touching religion; expedients that will always have in a good measure their desired success amongst the generality of men; and without which church articles can have but little effect or influence.

AND

AND tho' the protestant clergy have almost every where, in direct opposition to those principles by which alone they can defend their own separation from the church of *Rome*, acted by a spirit of imposition, and where ever they were permitted by the civil power, laid their own articles of faith on the consciences of others, and pressed subscriptions to their own decisions; yet what have they gained but a reproach to themselves by such a conduct? Where is there a protestant church that can boast itself without diversities of opinions? The synod of *Dort* was a true *presbyterian Papacy*, set her seal to *rigid Calvinism* as the doctrine of heaven, and enforced subscriptions to her infallible decrees: And yet *Arminianism* still lives, and there are many flourishing congregations of that persuasion in the *united provinces*. Our own convocation in 1562 agreed upon articles *for the avoiding of the diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion*; and yet where is there a nation where diversities of opinions more abound, than in our own? Not to mention the several churches that dissent from the established one; even our very clergy themselves, who by the terms of the subscription declare, that *they subscribe willingly, ex animo*, and that they *acknowledge all and every article to be agreeable to the word of God*, dispute the meaning of their own

articles, and have as great a diversity of opinions amongst themselves, as there is amongst those who publicly dissent from them. So that though all subscribe the same articles, yet they are *Arminians* and *Calvinists*, *Arians*, *Athanasians*, *Sabellians*, and *Tritheists*.

AND tho' by the act 13 *Eliz.* which imposes the subscription, they are to *declare their assent*, and subscribe to *all the articles of religion*, not only as far as *they concern the faith*, but *the doctrine of the sacraments* too; yet it plainly appears, that in spite of the subscriptions, there is amongst them as great a diversity of opinions about the sacrament, as about the faith itself. They are not yet so much as agreed what it is, whether it be a *mere memorial*, or something more; whether *any privileges*, or what, be connected with it or not; or any or no preparation be necessary to receive it.

I speak not this to reproach any of those, who with a *candid christian spirit* debate these, or any other opinions in religion whatsoever; but purely to shew, that the mere imposing articles and subscriptions is a thing trifling and insignificant in its nature, and that 'tis real *Quixotism* and *Quackery* to endeavour to prevent diversities of opinions, or establish consent touching religion, by framing and imposing articles and subscriptions on others: wherever this method hath been tried it hath been found ineffectual, and will

will be so to the end of the world. And even if those subscriptions were to be enforced by the most dreadful civil penalties; all that *could be* produced hereby would *only be*, an external acquiescing in the public opinions, to *avoid the penalties* of opposing them; not the really avoiding diversities of opinions, or the establishment of *inward consent* touching religion; which can only be effected, not by violence or persecution, but by such arguments and proofs as shall universally carry their own conviction, and by the force of their evidence determine and conclude the judgment.

I cannot help farther observing, that tho' the act of parliament above-mentioned obliges every person under the degree of a bishop, to *declare his assent, and subscribe to all the articles of religion, which only concern the confession of the true christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments*; and tho' the articles themselves are declared to be agreed on *for the avoiding diversities of opinions, and the establishing of consent touching true religion*; and tho' the 36th canon requires the clergy to *subscribe willingly and ex animo*: Yet that a very learned bishop of our own church hath put forth an elaborate and excellent treatise on these very articles, to shew the clergy, in *how many different senses* these articles may be understood, according to the literal and *grammatical sense*, and how they may subscribe

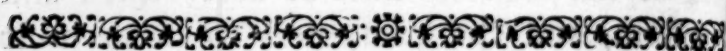
them *with a real declaration* of their unfeigned assent to them, and yet subscribe them with a good conscience, and without any equivocation, tho' they subscribe them in very different and even contradictory senses. Tho' there is a great deal of learning and good judgment shewn by the reverend prelate on each article which he treats of, yet to speak my mind freely, I cannot but observe, that the design of his book is to teach the clergy how to *elude the plain design* of an act of parliament, and *the very intention* of the subscription imposed, and that with a good conscience. This is a very great and *singular attempt* of a christian bishop. The title of the articles themselves declares, that they were agreed on *for the avoiding diversities* of opinions. The bishop shews, that the articles are capable of a very *great variety of interpretations*, and teaches the clergy how to subscribe them, tho' of different opinions; and thereby condemns the design of the articles, which was to prevent this diversity of opinions; and in the very face of the articles asserts, * that *the church doth not intend to tie men up too severely to particular opinions, but that she leaves all to such a liberty, as is agreeable with the purity of the faith*, though by those very articles she declares it was her design to avoid diversities of opinions.

* *Introduc.* p. 9.

AGAIN, the same articles declare, that their design was *to establish consent touching true religion*. By consequence the meaning of the articles must *be determined* and uniform, and the composers of them must have intended to convey *one plain* and fixed sense of them ; because of two opinions which differ from each other, each of them cannot be an article of true religion. The design of the bishop is to teach the clergy to subscribe with a good conscience, tho' of different opinions, and to consent to the articles without any consent touching true religion. For as far as they subscribe to the articles with different meanings to them, tho' they may all assent to the articles upon the bishop's scheme in their own sense of them, yet as far as they differ in their sense of them, so far they some of them dissent from true religion ; and thereby not only evade the very declared design of the articles themselves, but of the act of parliament too, which enforces the subscription for the very purpose for which the articles were imposed.

I shall only add, that this attempt of the bishop evidently proves that it was his opinion, that the design to prevent diversities of opinion was a needless and impertinent attempt, and that the church had really no power to impose subscriptions even for establishing consent touching true religion. Otherwise he would have shewn the fixed and determined sense of the articles themselves,
and

and the obligations of the clergy to subscribe them in that one sense, and in no other whatsoever.



N U M B. XCIII.

Concordia malorum major quam bonorum.

HIERON.

I HAVE shewn in my last paper, that the imposing subscriptions to articles of faith is *the usurpation* of an undue power, that hath nothing in the sacred writings to justify and support it; and that tho' the articles imposed on the clergy of our own church were design'd for *the avoiding diversity of opinion*, yet that this is not *in its nature* a proper method to answer this end, and hath not in fact answered it, even amongst the clergy of our own church, though they all subscribe the same creeds and articles.

I add, that much less is such imposition a proper method *to establish consent touching true religion*: For, supposing the articles imposed do really contain *the doctrine of true religion*, yet doth the imposition of them by the *civil power* carry any conviction of the truth of them? Or, is the *decree of ecclesiastical men* any demonstration to the mind of another of their being thus agreeable to truth? Hath it any tendency to
remove

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remove prejudices, to open the understanding, to enlighten the mind, and gain a solid and rational assent? All the thirty-nine articles of our own church are only strong assertions: *The apostle doth confess this: The homily of justification expresses that:* Another thing is *expressly declared in the word of God.* These creeds may be proved by most certain warrants of the holy scripture: *We judge such a thing to be read: And we decree such persons to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.* But what is, *we judge,* and *we decree,* to the proof of the things judged and decreed? What is, *the apostle confesses this,* and *the scriptures prove that,* any thing more than the mere unsupported, *unproved opinion* of the asserters? Suppose any person should not see that the apostle confesses *this,* and that the scripture warrants prove *that,* would the decree of the convocation in 1562, and the act of parliament of 13 Eliz. clear his eye-sight, and help him to a better discernment? especially when that very convocation declares in one of its articles, *that when councils be gathered together, such assemblies of men be not all governed with the spirit and word of God, but may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God;* and by consequence leaves it as a thing very probable at least, that some of the council or convocation in 1562 were not governed with
the

the spirit and word of God, and so actually erred in things pertaining to God. So that even supposing the thirty-nine articles, which is a very large supposition, be all of them doctrines of true religion, yet the imposing them by synodical authority, is no proper means to propagate an universal belief of and consent in them, because the compilers of those articles were not all of them, or might not all of them be, by their own confession, governed with the word and spirit of God, i. e. were, or might be men of very ill principles, and influenced by very unchristian views and motives; and because their affirming, that this may be proved by scriptures, and that is expressed in the Homily of justification, is really destroying the credit of their own authority, and even warning those who are to subscribe them, not to believe them on their authority, but sending them to the scriptures and the homilies for satisfaction.

BUT supposing the articles to be imposed and subscribed *do not contain articles of true religion*, but many articles contrary to and *subversive of true religion*, and destructive of the faith and morals of the christian religion; then we are in a much worse situation, and the imposition of these articles will not tend *to the establishment of consent touching true religion*, but to the *establishment of consent touching false and antichristian religion*. One of the thirty-nine articles allows,

lows, *that the church of Hierusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch hath erred; so also the church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living, and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.* And I suppose that every protestant will allow, that as with regard to pope *Pius's* creed, his holiness's *infallibility* hath a little deceived him; so that the decrees of the most holy council of *Trent* are in many points false and antichristian.

'Twas I presume also possible, that the *holy convocation* of 1562 might *err in their living, manner of ceremonies, and in matters of faith.* Yea the 21st article expressly declares of all general councils without exception, that *they be assemblies of men whereof all be not governed with the spirit and word of God.* It asserts therefore, that the general council of this kingdom in 1562, the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy being then met in convocation in *London*, was an assembly of men, *whereof all were not governed with the spirit and word of God.* We are indeed nowhere particularly informed, *what part* of this convocation, whether the archbishops, or the bishops, or the whole clergy, or *how many of each*, whether the major or minor part, was not governed with the word and spirit of God: This must be left to the *charity* of reasonable and candid persons to collect from the articles themselves, and some other

other circumstances that might be mentioned. 'Tis confessed they were not all of them governed with the word and spirit of God. By what then were they governed? What spirit was it that influenced these persons in opposition to the word and spirit of God? Was it a *spirit of pride* and ambition, a spirit of ignorance and prejudice, a spirit of error and falshood, the spirit of a false zeal, and obstinate bigotry? The spirit that influences men in framing articles of faith, and imposing them on others, must be of this kind and complection, as far as 'tis contrary to the spirit and word of God. And therefore 'tis possible at least, that as there must have been some of this evil spirit, and no man can determine exactly how many, some of the thirty-nine articles might be erroneous and contrary to christian faith, and by consequence by virtue of the 20th article, *ought not to have been decreed nor enforced to be believed for necessity of salvation*; and as far as any of them are *so erroneous*, the continuing to impose them, and obliging the clergy to subscribe them, doth not tend to establish consent touching true religion, but *consent in error and antichristian falshood*.

I believe it will be allowed by all, who consider the state of the christian church, and are at all acquainted with ecclesiastical history, that tho' all who assume the power of imposing articles on others, uniformly pretend

tend they do it for the same reasons alleged by our *good convocation*, viz. for the avoiding diversities of opinions, and establishing consent touching true religion; yet that generally speaking, the articles publicly imposed have been evident corruptions of true religion, and the consent established by them hath been a consent in the most destructive errors, and the vilest idolatries and superstitions.

IN the tenth and eleventh centuries, when the power of the church of *Rome* bare down all before it, and it was temporal death and eternal damnation to dispute any of her decrees, and almost all the whole christian world was in absolute bondage to her anti-christian, exorbitant usurpations; what was the consent she established and procured? What the diversity of opinions she forbid? The genuine doctrine of Christ was wholly banished from the christian world, and the very belief of it was made *infamous and capital*. The consent established was a consent in the grossest absurdities, the most monstrous falsehoods, and the most impious superstitions. So that both popish and protestant writers are full of their complaints of the ignorance, the impieties and immoralities, of these ages.

THE protestant author of the *Catena Testium* complains, that " the empire of the
" bishop of *Rome* so over-shadowed and
" clouded all the churches of *Europe* in this
" tenth

“ tenth century, that not only the govern-
 “ ors of the churches, but even civil go-
 “ vernors, depended on its beck, as tho’ it
 “ had been an heavenly deity. Few men
 “ who excelled in learning or virtue were
 “ to be found in this age. Or if any such
 “ there were, so greatly did they dread and
 “ tremble at the tyranny they were under,
 “ that they durst not so much as mutter or
 “ whisper against the corruptions, the mad
 “ idolatries, the superstitions, and the cor-
 “ rupt morals that every where prevailed.
 “ For as soon as any who feared God en-
 “ deavoured to utter a single syllable, such
 “ terrible thunders sounded from the Ro-
 “ man throne, as were enough to make all
 “ men shudder : especially as civil magi-
 “ strates themselves were so bewitched, as
 “ to suffer themselves to be employ’d as
 “ tools and slaves to establish the papal am-
 “ bition and tyranny.”

THE *Scriptores Magdeburgenses* in their
 ecclesiastical history observe, that in this very
 age “ there was scarce any mention of here-
 “ tics, because the blackest darkness of errors
 “ and superstitions reigned over the whole
 “ church of Christ, and that the strong man
 “ armed governed his palace in peace.” So
 that here was a general consent of faith in
 its full perfection, without heresy to disturb,
 or opposition to endanger it : But such a
 consent as was the scandal and ruin of the
 christian church, a consent in the most im-
 pious

pious falsehoods, and most execrable idolatries.

CARDINAL *Bellarmino* confesses of the same century, * *nullum indoctius aut infelicius extitisse* : There never was an age more ignorant or unhappy. *Baronius* cries out of the same period: † “ What then was “ the face of the church of *Rome*, when *the* “ *foulest whores* had all the power with “ her? Christianity was then in a deep sleep “ in the ship, and the ship itself overwhelm- “ ed with waves. And what was worst of “ all, there were none to call upon and wake “ the Lord with their cries, for all of them “ were snoring in the deepest sleep.” I could produce many other testimonies of the like nature from *Platina*, *Gerbert* archbishop of *Rhemes*, *Genebrard*, *Ditmarus*, *Onuphrius*, *Baronius*, and others, all complaining of the horrid ignorance of these times, and the desperate corruptions that universally prevailed. And yet ’twas a time when heresy was scarce mentioned, at least never suffered to hold up its head, and when there was an universal consent in what was then imposed as the true orthodox and christian faith.

So that if we may judge from those times, when the spiritual hierarchy rid triumphant, and the decisions of the clergy in matters of faith were no more suffered to be disputed

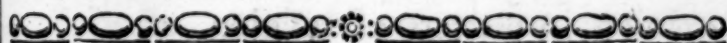
* *De Pont. Rom.*

† *Ad. An. 912.*

than the commands of God himself; we may certainly conclude that their decrees are never implicitly to be believed; and that the submitting to them, and implicitly subscribing the articles of faith, is the sure way to promote an uniformity of stupidity, ignorance, error, idolatry and vice, and not any thing like a consent amongst mankind touching true religion.

ALL sets of clergy, that have ever coin'd *articles* of faith for others, have always acted upon the same pretence of zeal for truth and religion. The papal church imposes her decrees to preserve *the seamless coat of Christ from being rent*. The Lutherans have formed articles to prevent heretics and sacramentarians from entering into the sheepfold of Christ. Zeal for truth, and the desire of promoting orthodoxy in the faith, unquestionably gave rise to the formularies of the foreign protestant churches. Our own convocation were for avoiding diversities of opinions, and establishing consent touching true religion. The kirk of *Scotland* abolished prelacy, and imposes *the Westminster confession*, out of the same laudable hatred of heterodoxy in discipline and faith. All imposers have the same *spiritual cant*, and if you will believe them, no other view in *driving on* their subscriptions, but the love of God, and the triumphs of truth. But amidst all these different sorts of doctrine that the different sets of clergy have imposed

fed, which shall we receive? Either let them boldly assert, that every different creed, in the different countries where they obtain, is the true christian faith; or that the clergies imposing subscriptions to their own opinions is not a likely method to promote consent touching the true faith. And that it is not, is a fact demonstrable as the day-light. The consequence of which is, that such impositions are absurd and unreasonable; and that such of the clergy who continue and inforce them, design not to promote *consent touching true faith*; for this they know they cannot do; but *the consent of mankind to promote their own usurpations*, and secure the profits and preferments that attend them.



N U M B. XCIV.

Το αἴτιον τι; φιλαρχία τυχόν, ἢ φιλοχρηματία,
ἢ φθόρος, ἢ μῖσος, ἢ ὑπερψία, ἢ τι τῶν οὐκ
μὴδε τῆς Ἀδείας ὀρωμεν πασχόντας.

Gregor. Nazian. Orat. 14 Edit. Colon.

IT is a just and wise observation of my lord *Bacon*, that it is but ignorance to expect, that the state of religion should not, especially in the times of peace, be exercised with controversies; and I would infer from hence, that it is an argument of extream folly for any set of weak and fallible

men to imagine, that they can prevent such controversies; and *establish consent touching true religion*, by decreeing their own opinions to be the essential doctrines of true religion, and endeavouring to impose and force them on the consciences of others. 'Tis true, as the forementioned noble author observes, *the church never wants a kind of persons, who love the salutation of RABBI, MASTER, not in ceremony or compliment, but from an inward authority which they affect over mens minds, in drawing them to depend upon their opinions, and to seek knowledge at their lips. But these men are the true successors of Diotrephes, the lovers of prebeminence.*

THE *project* to promote an uniformity in opinion in matters of religion, especially in those parts of which are of a speculative nature, is true *spiritual knight errantry*. 'Tis an impracticable attempt in the very nature of the thing, upon any other foundation, but that of spreading an *universal ignorance* throughout all mankind, or *absolutely extirpating* out of the world all that shall dare oppose or contradict the arbitrary decrees and sovereign dictates of these *ecclesiastical projectors*, who are *weak enough* to form this hopeful scheme of uniformity, and *wicked enough* to pursue and promote it by all the unchristian methods of violence and persecution.

N^o 94. *The OLD WHIG.* 373

WERE it indeed possible that this end could be accomplished, and that the imposing subscriptions to church articles of faith was a proper means for *the avoiding diversity of opinions*; yet what is the necessity, and where is the advantage of it, could it be obtained?

CAN it be pretended, that the christian revelation hath made this the characteristic of a christian, or an essential to salvation? I shall be immediately ask'd, doth not the apostle affirm there is *one faith*, and that we must not be *as children tossed to and fro with every wind of doctrine, by the slight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive*? Allowed. But what hath this *one faith* to do with the creed of the *English* convocation in 1562? The true christian doctrine is unquestionably *an uniform, determinate, fixed scheme* of truth; and the *distinguishing faith* of a christian is, the belief of *one God the Father, of whom are all things, and of one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things*, in opposition to all other Gods and Lords; and if there be any other article upon which the being and practice of the christian religion depends. The *one faith* required is the belief only of the *doctrine of Christ and his apostles*; the belief only of those plain and *important articles*, which the christian revelation hath made necessary; and about which there would have been little or no

dispute, had it not been for the *slight of men, and that cunning craftiness whereby* they have ever *been deceiving* the christian world. But, how doth this unity of faith, recommended by the scriptures, prove the necessity of an unity of faith in the thirty-nine articles, in Dr. *Waterland's* metaphysical scheme of the trinity, or the predestinarian scheme of *John Calvin*?

DO TH this unity of faith, in articles that have their foundation of truth *only in convocations* and synods, in the least tend to *promote the substantial virtues* of the christian life? To believe in one God the creator and governor of all things, and in one Jesus Christ the saviour and the judge of all men, are principles that have an immediate and powerful influence on the mind, and that directly tend to promote a religious and virtuous life. But is it of any real consequence to religion and morality, whether or no I believe that *three almighty* are one almighty, or whether I can *split the difference* between *begotten and not made*; or whether I am of opinion or not, that *we have no power to do good works by our own natural strength*; that *works done before inspiration have the nature of sin*; that *predestination is full of sweet comfort*; that *the church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith*; that *the book of homilies contain a godly and wholesome doctrine,*
and

and that the book of consecration of archbishops, &c. set forth in the time of Edward VI. hath not any thing superstitious and ungodly? All these, and many other things like them, are stiled ARTICLES OF RELIGION, and our clergy are obliged to subscribe them *under this character.* And yet these two things are as plain as the clergy can make them; that the generality of them *do not believe* them to be articles of religion; and that tho' they must all subscribe them upon almost every new spiritual preferment, yet that it hath no influence to promote amongst them a virtuous, religious, and christian behaviour.

CHRISTIANITY is a religion addressed to the reason and consciences of men, that abhors compulsion of any sort, and that countenances nothing of the ungodly practice of forcing men to believe creeds without conviction; or to subscribe them without believing them. It offers its doctrines to mens consideration and judgment, and leaves them at liberty to receive or reject them, just as they discern or not the evidence for them, and are hereby convinced or not of the truth or importance of them. It supposes and provides for differences of opinions, and commands us *not to receive men to doubtful disputations*, to maintain the unity of spirit in the bond of peace, not to judge the servants of another master, but to suffer every man to be fully persuaded in his

own mind, and those that are strong to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please themselves.

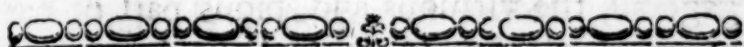
THE reasonable powers and faculties are not in all men equal and alike. The great God of nature hath formed them with different capacities. They don't perceive things in the same light, and can't all see the same force or defect in the same arguments. This is *the constitution* of human nature, and a constitution that *owes its original* to the God of nature. Differences therefore of opinion, even in religious matters, is absolutely unavoidable, where men have any reasonable faculties, and will impartially use them: And to imagine that these differences, these *unavoidable differences* can be *displeasing to God*, or that a *forced uniformity* in sentiment and opinion can be essential to his favour, where there is an honest desire to know the truth, and a care to please him by the virtues of a christian life, is to *degrade* the greatest and best of beings, and represent him to the world *as a weak, ill-natur'd, irrational being*, yea as an arbitrary, *tyrannical and unjust* one; *forming* creatures with different capacities, and *punishing* them for the necessary consequences of these different capacities; a thing as unrighteous in its nature, and as contradictory to all the laws of equity and justice, as tho' he should be displeased with and punish men for the different features of their faces, or the different

appearance of external objects to their bodily eyes. What notion then must the *rigid imposers* of articles and subscriptions form of God, if they do it from a *real persuasion*, that the articles they impose are essential to his favour? Do they imagine that he requires faith *without conviction*? Or that any person can be rejected from his favour, for *not being convinced*, when it is *not in his power* to be so? Do they imagine that all the virtues of the christian life shall *lose all their worth* and value in his sight, merely because they are not practised from the influence of principles they can see no reason to believe? What! merely because they do not *believe in the book* of homilies, or *the form of consecrations* of archbishops, &c. as set forth by king *Edward VI*? Is this the God they would recommend to the adoration of the thinking world? This the character of God as represented in the christian revelation?

THAT *diversity of opinions*, which the convocation of 1562 seemed so very solicitous *to prevent*, is neither *any disgrace* to the christian church, nor *inconsistent with the peace* of it. If 'tis no dishonour to men that they *are men*, 'tis no dishonour to them that they should differ from each other; and unless christianity intended to make us *more than men*, diversity of opinions can be no dishonour to us as christians. A few plain articles are enough to make us truly religious

ous and virtuous, even upon the christian scheme. And such there are in which all christians would have agreed, had it not been for the *craftsmen of the church*, who have *so puzzled the plain* things of christianity, and *added such a number* of uncertain speculations and *trifles* of their own, as that a man may sooner understand Sir *Isaac Newton's Principles of Philosophy*, in which he'll have truth and demonstration to guide him, than the modern *technical and artificial christianity*; which depends upon a thousand metaphysical intricacies, which not one in ten thousand hath either the leisure or capacity to understand. If nothing more was made necessary to communion and salvation, than what the original records of christianity have made so, *the true unity* of faith *in all essentials* would be fully preserved. In other things, in which christians might differ, they would have occasion for the exercise of that *mutual charity* and brotherly affection, which would be the great ornament, and the *most solid security* of the peace of the christian church. The unity of the church hath been indeed the *stale pretence* for the imposing articles of faith on others: But as the imposing spirit is always owing to pride and ambition, to a thirst of power, and a greediness of riches; so it hath been found true by *the dear-bought experience* of above seventeen hundred years, that instead of promoting the peace of the church,

church, it hath been the true occasion of all the schisms that have ever distracted it; and whilst it continues to maintain its usurpations, and exercise its antichristian authority, will necessarily render those divisions incurable.



N U M B. XCV.

Oro vos, Episcopi, qui hoc vos esse creditis, quibusnam suffragiis ad prædicandum evangelium apostoli usi sunt? At nunc, proh dolor, divinam fidem suffragia terrena commendant, inopsq; virtutis suæ Christus, dum ambitio nomini suo conciliatur, arguitur.

Hilar. de Trin. L. 10.

WE have seen in our last papers, that *the imposition* of articles of faith, and the *inforcing subscriptions* to them, is an *unreasonable* thing in itself, cannot answer *the design* of the imposers, nor be of any real service to promote *the interest of religion* and truth; considerations that would be of weight enough, one would think, with wise and honest men, to induce them to lay them *wholly aside*, as things of no importance and value.

BUT it deserves to be farther inquired, whether they are not always attended with
con-

consequences that are *extremely bad*; dangerous to the interest of *truth* itself, such as may be inconsistent with the *very being* of christianity, and *subversive of the peace* and union of the christian church. If these things can be made appear, surely it will engage all the virtuous and pious part of our reverend clergy, *to unite* their hearts and hands in endeavouring *to remove* so great an *hardship* and burthen upon themselves, and to get rid of a practice, which, where-ever it hath *prevailed*, hath been of the highest *disservice* to the civil and religious *liberties* of mankind. And this will appear if we consider,

THAT the continuing and enforcing subscriptions to human articles of faith, is continuing and maintaining *such an authority* and power in the church, as hath *in fact* been *destructive* of the genuine *doctrines* of christianity, the interest of *moral virtue* and honesty, and that *union* and *charity* amongst all christians, which ought to be their great *characteristic* and distinguishing mark, and is of infinitely more importance than *any truth* whatsoever *in mere speculation*; and more especially than those, which have made by far the greatest part of the creeds and confessions of the synodical clergy.

IF the clergy in council or convocation are really invested with this power, it must be by virtue of some *divine order* or appointment, and they must be in a very extraordinary-

traordinary manner *qualified* for the use of it; because 'tis a contradiction to the moral perfections of God, to imagine that he will invest any set of men with *so high an authority*, without fitting them in a suitable manner for the exercise of it. The power of framing articles for, and imposing them on others, is a power of *dictating to the consciences* of men, and obliging them to receive and believe them. And the qualification necessary for the due exercise of this power is nothing less than *infallibility and absolute certainty*, as to the truth of the articles to be decreed and imposed. And unless *God conveys* this infallibility and certainty, he *cannot invest* the clergy with the power of imposing articles and enforcing subscriptions to them on others, without investing them with a *power* to form creeds and articles *composed of error* and falsehood, and obliging others to receive and subscribe to them. Hence the church of *Rome*, which claims to itself an universal power of dictating to the consciences of all christians, *rightly claims* the privilege of infallibility; as well knowing that the one can't be supported without the other. And if our protestant churches act upon any principle, in the affair of subscriptions, that can justify them in this conduct, it must be that of *certain-ty* in the things they decree and impose; a certainty that must arise either from the plain *dictates of reason*, which they have been *so*
good

good as never to pretend to, or from some *extraordinary influence* of the Holy Ghost, and *the healthful spirit of his grace* annexed to their office, or from that promise of Christ, *peculiar to their cloth* and character, *that he would be with them to the end of the world*. To imagine that our protestant clergy set up *an office* for creeds and confessions, and would oblige others to take them as sound and *orthodox*, though they are in doubt themselves about *the goodness of their wares*, would be to represent them as little, low, *tricking bucksters* in divinity, imposing on the folly and credulity of mankind; and not as the true, genuine, *authorised importers* and dispensers of heavenly truth; which is the character they generally assume, and in which they would have all the christian people reverence and bow down to them.

I will not here dispute whether the *market* they keep for the *vending* of principles, hath in reality the *royal charter*, and the heavenly *licence*, or not; but this I will affirm, that the pretence to this *exclusive authority*, which the clergy in all ages have *generally* claimed, hath in all ages, and amongst all nations, where-ever it hath been *thoroughly submitted* to, been the ruin and *destruction of the faith* and doctrine of original and genuine christianity. The first open and *general claim* and usurpation of this power was made by the council of Nice, *Ann^o*

325, who decreed what they would have to be the *marketable faith*, and forced all the christian clergy *implicitly* to purchase it. And though the *unity of one God* the father had had been before this the *universal doctrine* of the church, and is indeed demonstrably the *fundamental article* of all true religion; yet from henceforth this *primary doctrine* became the subject of the most intricate disputation, and it grew uncertain in the christian church, whether the *divine substance* was the substratum of *one*, or *two co-ordinate*, equally supreme and independent Gods.

HENCE the *marvellous*, the mysterious divinity took its rise, and the sacred authority of general councils became fully established; and as the clergy were *marvellously* transported with their *triumphs* over heresy, and with their success in this their first essay to *vend mysteries* throughout the christian world, the *sale* was continued, *fresh markets* opened, new mysteries *manufactured*, all *unlicensed traders* chastised by proper *finer* and wholesome severities, and nothing allowed to be *retailed out* to the poor people, without the license and distinguishing mark of these *spiritual ingrossers*. The next *general market* was that at *Constantinople*, about the year 381, which not only confirmed the *charter* by which the former at *Nice* was held, but rendered the doctrine of the unity of God more difficult and abstruse,

struse, by settling the *procession* of the Holy Ghost, and adding a *third person* to the divine nature, as an equal object of adoration with the two former, prohibiting all *other goods* from being *current* in the church, and subjecting all others, but themselves, as *clandestine traders*, to the severest *pains* and *penalties*.

AFTER this we hear of almost nothing else, for many ages, but this *spiritual traffic* in mysteries amongst *the merchants* of the church; some *importing new goods*, some endeavouring *to corrupt* or alter the old. But *the Monopoly* still held its ground, and supported its power. Such *ware* as they found to their purpose they *licensed* for public sale; storming and raving at, cursing and damning all others, who would not receive their *commodities*, as *contraband traders*, and as invading the divine rights and infringing the properties of *the company* they had *incorporated* themselves into.

IT would be an easy matter to shew, under every period, how these *spiritual traders*, under the pretence of an heavenly *exclusive charter*, altered from time to time the true christian doctrine; till at length, when it would no longer serve their purposes, they intirely banished it out of the christian church; and instead of those plain and easy principles taught by Christ and his apostles, which tended only to make men religious, virtuous, and *wise to salvation*, they

they introduced *inexplicable*, and innumerable *subtilties* as necessary articles of faith, that had no foundation in the gospel revelation, but were better suited to *the taste* of the times, and to the *commerce* carried on by the *ecclesiastical dealers* of those ages.

THE seventh *general market* for *church wares* was at *Nice*, where the first was held, and which finished the corruption and ruin of the christian doctrine which was there began. Here *the sale* of crosses, images, and pictures, of God, Christ, the mother of God, angels and saints, and such *holy merchandise*, was *publicly proclaimed* and recommended; whereby the church had a *new manufacture* established in it, and raised to itself an ample fund of riches and profit; Christianity was now *no more*! The very shadow of it was not visible! There was nothing left either of the doctrine or worship of it! A new religion succeeded it, and a new idolatry took place of paganism; and damnation thundered out in the name of the Trinity against all who would not submit to it. See here ye governors of the christian church, ye reverend prelates and clergy of the established church of *England*, see here the effects of this *spiritual usurpation*, the genuine fruits of this imposing power; which *gradually rose* from one corruption to another, till at length it *wholly subverted* that sacred religion, from whence you *derive your*

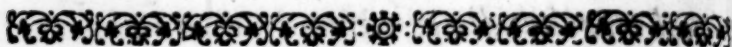
characters, and of which you are revered as the *commissioned* authorised *ministers*.

THE many ages after this, in which barbarity, ignorance, and superstition triumphed over every thing sacred and true, I need not recount. The *Roman Pontiff* engrossed every thing to himself, and commenced the *huckster general* of mankind. Nothing was *marketable* without his impression and *warrant*. Heaven and earth, God and man, sins and pardons, every thing that was *sacred*, every thing that was *vile*, was *set to sale*, and offered as the property of the *highest bidder*. Subscriptions were the support of this *impious trade*, and the claim of *infallibility* the support of these subscriptions. When men grew wise enough to see this claim was an *imposture*, they renounced their subscriptions, and *protested* against them as unreasonable and antichristian.

BUT did they *universally renounce* this authority they condemned in the church of *Rome*? No. They claimed it themselves, under the *softer* name of *certainty*, and the pretence of *guarding the purity* of the christian faith. Did they *renounce* the power of imposing subscriptions to their own articles, when they renounced their own subscriptions to those of the church of *Rome*? No, they imposed *as rigidly* as that church itself, for *preventing diversity of opinion*, and *establishing consent touching true faith*. And the

the only difference after and before the reformation, as to this point was, that whereas before there was only *one market for spiritual merchandize*, which held *its charter* from the sovereign *Pontiff*; each nation afterwards established *a mart* of its own, and appointed what should be the staple *commodities vendible* therein. Each protestant church is now a *monopoly* of itself, and as truly prohibits *the importation* of foreign goods, as the church of *Rome*. No *stall in our markets* without license from the governours. No liberty to *examine the goods* we are to receive and retail. They have the mark upon them, and we must even take them *by content*. Be they *true* or be they *false*, be they *over* or *under standard*. Do they answer or not to *that sample*, by which alone they ought to be tried, we have no right or power to inquire. You must subscribe that they are good, or you have *no liberty* to traffick. You must record the subscription, and at *high market* publicly declare you approve them, and *will deal* in them, or you have no entrance into *the shop*. Hard terms these, for thoughtful honest men to submit to ! By this means error, wherever its gets footing, hath a sure support, irresistibly triumphs over truth, and successfully opposes the doctrines of true christianity; and therefore the imposing and submitting to such subscriptions, instead of being the support of the christian church, is,

if any thing can be learnt from past history,
the direct way to indanger and subvert it.



N U M B. XCVI.

— Ille, *suæ contra non immemor artis,*
Omnia transformat sese in miracula re-
rum,
Ignemque, horribilemque feram, fluvium-
que liquentem. Virg. Georg. 4.

THE venerable fathers, who composed the council of *Nice*, when they had *vented their spleen* against each other, and agreed upon a *certain form* of words, the meaning of which some did *not understand*, and many others were *not agreed* in, to be *manufactured* into a creed, required all the members of the *sacred synod* to subscribe them, under the penalties of an anathema, and deposition from their priestly offices and emoluments ; from a persuasion, no doubt, that this *prudent conjunction* of spiritual and temporal punishments would conciliate *great authority* and respect to the *forms* they had *sanctified*, and render them the *fashionable topics* of spiritual instruction and declamation ; or at least, that the imposing them on all the clergy would create some considerable *vacancies* in the church, and make room for some *ecclesiastical promotions* and translations.

BOTH

BOTH these *christian* and *pious views* were in *some respects* answered. The *herd* went after their *leaders*; they were *ordered* to subscribe, and they *subscribed accordingly*. Some few, who were more *obstinate*, were punished for their contumacy, and sent into exile as a warning and terror to others: However, the business of *uniformity* was not so easily compassed as the fathers imagined. The party they intended to sink grew in interest and numbers: Some of them got admission to the imperial ear; others of them made impressions on the hearts of some of the principal ladies of the *Cesarian* family; some of them, by *just complaints* of persecution and hard usage, excited in others compassion and tenderness for themselves; others, by representing the established creed as *an innovation* in christian doctrine, and injurious to the first article of all religion, *the unity of God*, made great addition to their strength, and considerably increased the number and influence of their party; till at length the cause of *established orthodoxy* sunk in its reputation and influence; heresy flourished, had the sanction of the imperial authority, convened synods, *changed its name*, and in its turn became the reigning orthodoxy of the christian church and world.

SEE now how mutable and inconstant are all sublunary things! Impositions and subscriptions take another course. Even the venerable fathers of *Nice* must *renounce* the

doctrine they had *subscribed* as true, and subscribe *as true* what they had renounced *as false*, under the same penalties of anathemas, depositions and banishments. And can there be any thing more evident, than that subscriptions to human articles are only the *tricks* and arts of a party, change sides with every *variation* of interest, and are *equally subservient* to the purposes of every faction in church and state, just as it happens to be uppermost?

I do not suppose that any of our reverend clergy claim the *exclusive power* of imposing subscriptions by virtue of any *immediately divine* and apostolic injunction and grant. It is, if any thing, a sort of *deductive* consequential *right*. They are *shepherds*, and so have a right to *fold their sheep*, that the wolves mayn't come near them and devour them. And what so proper a security as the *hurdle of subscription*! Or, they are to *watch over the souls* of the christian people, that thieves and robbers may not *filch* and *kidnap* them to destruction. Now, what so proper a *trap* for a *spiritual thief* as that excellent one of subscription! By many other such like deductions may the power of imposing articles be demonstrated. But then these spiritual shepherds and *thief-catchers* would do well to consider, that this kind of demonstration is equally conclusive and strong on the side of all the several kinds of *ecclesiastical shepherds*

berds and *thief-catchers* in christendom. Our clergy will pardon me, if I tell them, that even they at *Rome*, and in many other places of the world, are no better than *thieves* and *robbers*, and *grievous wolves* that devour the flock, how much soever they may glory themselves in their *lineal* and immediate *succession* from the apostles, put on the *air* of the Lord's ambassadors, and triumph in the *validity* of their administrations. The subscriptions of the whole church of *Rome* are against them; and there is scarce one of the articles of religion, to which they are obliged *ex animo* to assent, but stands condemned by the *infallible authority* of popes and councils. And the truth is, that if any party of christians have a right to impose their own articles of faith on others, all parties have for the very same reasons; and the church of *Rome* in an especial manner: for it hath not only all the same reasons to urge that all other parties have, but one infinitely stronger, *viz.* the pretence and claim of *infallibility*. Now, how that can be a right and vindicable method to *promote consent in true religion*, which all parties of christians have a right to make use of, to *promote consent in antichristian errors*, will require exquisite skill to prove; nor can the reverend clergy of our established church urge one solid reason to vindicate themselves in the continuing to impose their subscriptions, but what

will equally vindicate the *Arians* and other heretics in former ages, the church of *Rome*, those of *Luther* and *Calvin*, and even the kirk of *Scotland* at this day, in the same practice.

I farther add, that this practice occasions *great insincerity* and foul prevarication amongst many of the subscribing clergy themselves, and brings such a *scandal* and reproach upon *their cloth* and character, as must sink their reputation in the judgment of all thoughtful men, and greatly prevent their *good influence* and usefulness. Nothing is more absolutely certain, than that *the generality* of our clergy *do not believe* the articles they subscribe in any proper and *literal sense*. Some subscribe them for the same reason that our *city magistrates* count *bob-nails* in *Westminster-Hall*, merely because *imposed by the state*, tho' they know and believe the thing itself to be ridiculous; and for the same reason would subscribe any others that should be imposed on them by the same authority. Others subscribe them professedly as *articles of peace*, without pretending to believe them. And yet, whatsoever be the secret sense and reserves with which they take them, they every soul profess that they subscribe them as *articles of religion*, and do, *ex animo*, assent and consent to them as such. The meanest man must see, that this is *notorious prevarication*; and as such dissimulation and deceitful dealing

ing in subscriptions would be deemed *scandalous* and infamous *in civil life*, it must be much *more dishonourable* in spiritual men, who, if they would approve themselves *the successors* of the apostles, ought to renounce *these secret things of darkness*, and not, as many corrupt *καπηλευειν*, *sell the word* of God for gain, nor, as vintners do their wine, *adulterate* and mix it, for good livings and preferments. An honest and generous mind would *scorn to trifle* and prevaricate with his word. But would he *set his hand* to the truth of what he believed to be false? Would he declare *publicly his assent*, *ex animo*, and confirm that assent by a subscription, to what he was in his conscience convinced was directly contrary to truth? What would such a man be thought of, how would he be dealt with, in *Westminster-Hall*, or even upon the public *Exchange*! And yet monstrous as this conduct is, 'tis in reality an infamy and guilt that every clergyman incurs, who subscribes the articles without really and firmly believing them. With what *good grace* or prospect of success can such a one inculcate *christian simplicity* and godly sincerity on others, who knows within his own conscience that he hath forfeited the character himself? What would such an one have to reply to a sensible parishioner, that should reproach him: Sir, you *entered* our church *by prevarication*, and became our minister *by a breach* of your own honour

nour and integrity. Your *doctrine* is contrary to your *subscription*. You preach *sincerity*, but are your self an example of *hypocrisy*. Which must the parishioner in this case believe, either the doctrine his minister subscribed, or that which afterwards he preaches? How indeed can the minister reasonably expect he should regard him in any thing?

I know this kind of reasoning will not in the least affect *the corrupt part* of our clergy, who *deal* in livings, and make *a trade* of the gospel. They will subscribe *ten thousand articles* as easily as one, rather than miss of a *good promotion*, thro' a punctilio of conscience. The generality of the clergy were observed to conform and subscribe to all the alterations in doctrine and practice, during the reigns of king *Henry VIII.* *Edward V.* queen *Mary* and *Elizabeth*. Nay, in the reign of king *Charles I.* the convocation in 1640, imposed *an oath* upon their clergy with an *&c.* tacked to it, which oath was pressed on the clergy, who generally took it, for the greater solemnity, kneeling. Yea, so ready are the temporising part of the clergy to comply with subscriptions and oaths at any rate, that there is now a standing proverb to their reproach, on this account, current in the nation. The truth is, that these subscriptions are *no bars* to men of *loose principles* and morals. They bear hard only upon *men of reflection and integrity*,

grity, who are either forced to subscribe them with *great reluctance*, and with really *dishonourable reservations*, thro' the difficulties of their circumstances, and to provide a maintenance for themselves and families; or *wholly to refuse* the subscriptions at all events, thro' a strict regard to integrity, and to put themselves upon the voluntary contributions of others, to support themselves in their ministerial characters and services. And by impositions of this kind our established church *injures* her own *character*; and *weakens* her security, by keeping open those dissensions she ought to heal, and by *perpetuating a separation* from her own communion, which, upon all rules of secular and christian prudence, she should endeavour to prevent.

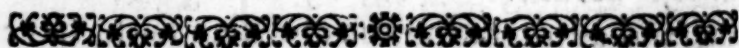
I am afraid that this practice of inforcing subscriptions hath yet a farther ill tendency to *the weakning the interest of christianity itself*, and promoting that *spirit of scepticism* and infidelity that is continually prevailing amongst us. If we look into all the modern writings of those who appear in the list against revelation, we shall find the clergy *constantly* treated not only *with freedom*, but with scorn and *contempt*; represented and reproached as an *abandoned worthless set of men*, aiming at the liberties of the rest of mankind, and under *spiritual pretences* setting up a *secular interest* of their own, upon the *ruins* of truth
and

and righteousness, and every thing that is dear and valuable in the world. What have the clergy done *to deserve* this treatment? Doth it not become them *to rescue* themselves from this *infamy*, and save their characters and office from *prostitution*? Can they be *ignorant of the reasons* of the contempt they are under, or imagine that they can in reality serve the cause of genuine christianity, till that contempt be removed? Their assuming a *power over conscience*, must necessarily *destroy their influence* with all wise and thinking men; and their continuing to impose subscriptions be detested by all that love freedom and liberty of inquiry, and know that *true religion* can never be supported without it. Their subscribing to articles they don't believe, and preaching against articles they have solemnly subscribed, will bring their honour and integrity into doubt; it is setting themselves up as *public examples* of insincerity, and *teaching mankind* how to prevaricate in their *solemn transactions* with one another. And can men, whose characters are thus tainted, ever hope for success as *preachers of righteousness*? Can indifferent persons think them *in earnest*, when recommending christianity, and setting forth the dangers of unbelief, when it plainly appears, that they solemnly declared their assent to *thirty-nine whole* articles of religion *only in jest*? Will they not say, can these be *the ambassadors* of the Lord? And what
were

were the apostles, if these are in reality their genuine successors? They see, that upon the foot of subscriptions, christianity is as different as *the soil* it feeds on, and *the climate* it breaths in. 'Tis *one thing* in Rome, *another* in Saxony, *another* in England, and *quite another* in Scotland. And yet all these *different christianities* are enforced as *the only genuine ones*, by formularies, subscriptions, and penal laws. *Here is Christ, and there is Christ; every one* hath him; and yet if you'll believe them all, *not one* of them can have him in possession. Is not this representing Christ as a *mere Proteus*, perpetually shifting and varying his form, so that none can apprehend or retain him; and christianity to be of *the Camelion kind*, that alters its colour according to every new object it fixes on?

THE *guilt* of thus *transforming* and *obscuring* christianity is yours, O ye reverend clergy, who have made it *every thing*, and by this means have in reality brought it to *almost nothing*. You, by *inlarging*, altering, and adulterating the christian faith, have *obscured* this heavenly light, and spread *infinite perplexity* upon that, which, if in reality from God, must be *clear as the daylight*, and so plain as *he that runs may read it*. You have made it a religion fit only for *subtile brains* and metaphysical heads, and rendered it impossible for common and *ordinary men* to be saved, unless they believe
upon

upon credit, and cherish a faith without ideas and knowledge. You have forsaken the apostolical methods of conviction and conversion, by putting subscription in the room of reason and argument, and making use of civil penalties instead of the mercies of God, and the terrors of the Lord. The power you usurp over the consciences of others, is more than what even Christ and his apostles ever claimed, and will effectually keep the wisest and best of men at the farthest distance from your society. And when, to all this, your very integrity is suspected, and you are actually found to prevaricate and trifle in solemn subscriptions, and even to read creeds in the very worship of God, which it's well known you don't believe; how is it possible, but that in such circumstances you must do the highest disservice to christianity, and, instead of preventing the growth of infidelity, become the main instruments and occasions of supporting and promoting it?



N U M B. XCVII.

HOW it comes to pass that religion, both natural and reveal'd, have been so variously represented, and so wofully corrupted and disfigur'd, is a proper, useful, and seasonable subject of inquiry. It is a proper
and

and *useful* subject of inquiry, because it relates to the principal and grand concern of human life; and because by examining into the *causes* and *springs* from whence *corruptions* in religion *naturally* and *generally* flow, we can scarce fail of acquiring a right idea and perception of it in its original truth and simplicity: and it has always been a *seasonable* inquiry, because there never was an age in which the primitive excellence and purity of religion has not been, *more or less, deprav'd* and *adulterated* by vain and unnatural mixtures.

IF indeed there was *no rule* or *standard* of true religion at all, we might easily account for those *strange* conceits and *wild* extravagancies, which have almost every where, and in all times, usurped that amiable and sacred name. But this is generally allow'd not to be the true cause; there being an immutable standard of *natural* religion in the reason of things; and of *reveal'd*, in the authentic and indisputable records of christianity contain'd in the New Testament. — If, again, the standard, by which we are to form and regulate our judgment, was *obscure* and *uncertain*, it would be reasonable to expect errors and corruptions of *various* kinds, according to the *diversity* of prejudices, interests, and conjectures, that must supply the defect of such a *dark* and *ambiguous* rule. But this cannot be admitted, without saying, in effect, that we
have

have *no* rule at all, or at least none but what is *incomplete* and *insufficient*; or, in other words, that *natural religion* cannot be demonstrated from any plain and just principles of reason, nor the essential doctrines and duties of *christianity* clearly ascertain'd and deduc'd even from the writings of those, who were employ'd in the first publication of it.

WE must therefore look *farther*, and trace the corruptions so justly lamented and complain'd of to some *other source*. And upon impartial reflection we shall find, that for the most part they center in this as their *common root*, viz. *deserting* the only *sure* and *infallible* rule, and setting up other *false* and *imaginary* rules in the place of it; debasing and perplexing religion by *unwarranted* additions—either under the pretence of *explaining* what God had left *confused*, and scarce *intelligible*—or of *amending* and *improving* what he must be supposed to have left *incorrect* and *unfinished*—or of *adorning* what infinite wisdom has left too *rough* and *unpolished*—or of *supporting* and *guarding*, by new *props* and *barriers*, what the *omnipotent* governor of mankind has given out too *naked* and *defenceless*. It was relinquishing the light of *reason*, and following the delusions of *fancy* and *superstition*, that of old extinguish'd the pure religion of *nature* in *heathen* nations; and the same cause maintains *Pagan* idolatry and *barbarous*

barous rites of superstition to this day. And by what has *christianity* suffer'd — by what has its lustre and glory been eclipsed — by what its beneficial influences obstructed — more than by human *inventions* and *fables*, enforced by the awful authority of God, and with a most impious *prostitution* of his name and character?

I am very sensible, that all *protestants* disclaim this conduct, and are ready to express a strong resentment at it, as *arrogant*, *arbitrary*, and *antichristian*. And I heartily wish, that it was as easy for them to prove, that they are not liable to *too large a share* of this *guilt*, as it is to *deny* the *charge*, and *insist* upon their own *innocence*. — But is not the fact too gross and plain to be evaded or palliated? Is not the guilt, in some degree, almost *universal*? — Is it confined only to ESTABLISHED churches? — Is it not notorious, that in many SEPARATE communions likewise, there are certain favourite schemes ranked among the terms of salvation, which all who believe not shall *without doubt perish everlastingly*; — or, at best, are consigned over to the *uncovenanted* mercies of God? And what are these schemes? Are they framed and compiled in *the words* of the *original* revelation? 'Tis well known that they are not. Or, will a *bare assent* to *scripture propositions* be admitted as a sufficient test and criterion of *christianity*? So far from it, that *this* is looked on as a most

suspicious and *dangerous* mark of *heresy*.— I mention these things, not for the sake of exposing our *weakness*, or making *invidious* reflections, but that we may *all* of us, of EVERY denomination of *protestants*, attempt in our several stations to wipe off this *infamy* that sticks close to us; and no longer expose the cause we profess to the bitter taunts of our *popish* enemies, by *condemning*, and at the same time *imitating*, their *imposing* insolence and tyranny.

SHOULD it be said by any, that they do not contend for making *confessions* and *formularies* of *human* composition absolutely necessary to *eternal salvation* hereafter, but only the condition of *outward* and *visible communion* with the church; I answer, that how the christian church should be *constituted*, and what are the *qualifications* which intitle to the common privileges of it, are, in *reason*, points not to be settled by any *human* jurisdiction, but to be determined only by the *founder* and *head* of the church. And therefore, though the presumption and impiety of appointing unwarranted terms of *communion* may not be quite so gross and intolerable, as that of imposing new terms of *salvation*, it is *presumption* and *impiety* notwithstanding. Say, if you please, that it is necessary for *public order*:—It is an order which *Christ* never *established*.— Or call it an appointment of the governors of the church only for *particular* christian communities;

ages, and a controversy, that has infinitely *perplexed* and *divided* the sentiments of mankind. The true cause of which is, that their judgments are either *bribed* by interest, or *awed* by authority, or *enslaved* and *stupidified* by the terrors of superstition, or *depressed* and *enervated* by indolence and sloth. They *shut their eyes*, in order to find out truth; and *grope their way in the dark*, to avoid stumbling. Sometimes, they form *conclusions* without *premises*; and thus *begin* where they should *end*, with what is the *last* point in reasoning, and ought always to be the result of deliberate and serious inquiry. At other times, they set up *false measures* of right and wrong, and *work* themselves into a persuasion of the truth of a religion from such *low* and *carnal* topics of reasoning as these: — The *numbers* that profess it; — the *name*, *character*, and *influence* of its patrons and defenders; — the *gaudiness*, *splendor*, and *pageant pomp* of its outward offices; — or mysterious *magic* sounds, which avarice, craft, or the lust of power, first invented; and which afterwards either became *awful* through their *darkness* (having much the same effect on the *fancy* with the *solemn gloom* of old *Gothic* abbeys and cathedrals) or were *consecrated* by the force of custom.

OF such an *unmeaning*, *unreasoning mechanical* faith, the natural offspring is a *blind* and *indiscriminate* zeal, which makes no distinction between truth and error, between
God

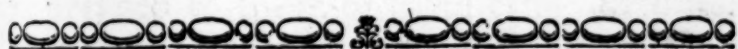
God and *Belial*; and by the use of different *words* only to agitate the spirits and make the *frenzy* blaze, has the same kind of influence in almost all nations, and under every form, whether of religion or superstition. Thus, if the outcry of *the temple of the Lord*, and the notion of its being IN DANGER industriously and artfully propagated, exasperated the *Jews* of old to reject christianity as an impious innovation, and to endeavour to extirpate the professors of it; — the word *church*, in other communities, has the same sort of *bewitching* and *infatuating* operation. — And it is not unlikely, that the word *mosque* may produce effects altogether as surprising at *Constantinople*. *Christ* and *Calvin*, the *Pope* and *Mahomet*, have all their implicit votaries: each contending for little more than the *name*; and, so far as they are severally possessed of *power*, with equal intemperance and outrage.

AGAIN, it springs from the same general source, *viz.* from *undigested*, *accidental*, and *fanciful* notions of religion, that the zeal of the greatest part of mankind has not exerted itself so much for the advancement of the *essential* and *immutable* principles of all true religion, as for *national establishments*, and the insignificant peculiarities of conceited *sectaries*. Thus it was in ancient times, and thus it still continues. — The *beathens* almost universally, amidst a confused heap of inferior gods and goddesses,

acknowledged *one supreme*, whom they stiled *the father of Gods and men*: But yet we find in general, that their chief concern was not for *his* honour, but for some *adopted Demon*, some *fictitious* tutelar deity. An exact parallel to which we have in *Po-pish* countries, where much more devotion is paid to the *virgin*, *i. e.* in *Pagan* stile, to the *goddess Mary*, or to *guardian saints*, which answer to the heathen *protecting* and *mediating Demons*, than to Christ, or to the infinite and *only* God of the universe.— And even among those who call themselves *the reformed*, the eternal father of mankind, and the *father of mercies*, is described as relentless and implacable, till his vengeance was *sated* by an *equivalent* sacrifice: so that instead of the scripture doctrine, that there is *none good but one*, that is *God*, it has been taught in effect, that God is in his nature *rigorous* and *inflexible*,—and that there is none good but the *mediator*. These are the schemes, the absurd, I had almost said, the *blasphemous* schemes that ingross our attention, and divert it from original and unadulterated christianity.—And to what end?—Most certainly to loosen the foundations even of natural religion, and expose the christian revelation to scorn and insolent derision.

Thus have mankind, through indolence, superficial inquiries, and weak prejudices of various kinds, *bewildered* themselves in a
maze

maze of errors. When the *passions* are moved, they imagine that they *feel* the truth; tho' the *understanding* is so confused, that it *sees* nothing, and can *demonstrate* nothing. They *believe*, in short, they know not *what*, and are *zealous* they know not *why*.—And one dark, credulous, and enthusiastical age transmits credulity, enthusiasm and blind zeal to another. Thus the important question, *what is truth?* is at length decided; mere imaginary *phantoms* usurp its authority and influence; and, before their shrines, *reason* is solemnly degraded, and *morality* inhumanely sacrificed.



N U M B. XCIX.

*Vir bonus et prudens ambitiosa recidet
Ornamenta; parum claris lucem dare co-
get;
Arguet ambigue dictum: mutanda nota-
bit.*
HOR.

To the CONSISTENT PROTESTANT.

S I R,
H A V I N G a small interest in the ho-
nour of (that *Stupor Mundi*) the *En-
glish* clergy, I would endeavour to wipe off
that imputation of insincerity, which, in some

late papers, you have fixed on them; and shew, that the practice of *subscription* (as managed among them) is consistent with a character of sincerity.

No wonder indeed, that others, whether believers or no, should tax them *on this head*; when * some of their own number have made themselves so remarkable, not for smiling on, but for biting and devouring, their brethren on this score. — But as these gentlemen have been, I hope, but few; so I persuade myself you will agree with the rest of the world in condemning their conduct, more than *that* of their subscribing brethren.

WELL! But what do you advance then upon this head? Why, say you, men of reflection and integrity subscribe the articles upon worldly views, with *really dishonourable reservations*; and the generality of the subscribing clergy do not believe the articles in *ANY proper and literal sense*.

WITH regard to these assertions, I would beg leave, in the first place, to observe, that men of integrity, cannot (by the terms) be supposed, upon any consideration whatsoever, to act dishonourably; and therefore that the subscription we speak of is either really capable of being reconciled with a sense of honour, or else that no man of integrity ever yet subscribed; but that all subscribers must be insincere alike; and that to

* Dr. W.

their assembly *no honour* is united. Now, pray, what do you think of all those systematic and orthodox men, who still hold fast the scholastic doctrine of the Trinity, and the *Calvinistic* scheme of redemption? Have *they* any dishonourable reservation? Or, are not they men of *reflection*? Or, will you deny that there are any such? If you do, I believe it would be no hard matter to prove the fact: tho' I must own, that Dr. *W.* himself, who is so clear on the Trinity, appears a little wavering and heretical on the point of predestination. Well then! if these gentlemen be out of the question, you must be supposed to speak of those clergymen *alone*, who do not believe the articles they have subscribed in *the most* obvious and vulgar sense of the terms. They, say you, do not act honourably, but are insincere.

Now, in the name of candour, why must we suppose the reformers in 1562 solicitous to prevent *any* diversity of opinions, which should be consistent with the peace of the church? or to introduce *any* uniformity, but what might be attended with that variety, in which (as you justly observe) the beauty of the moral and the christian world consists? And are not the terms they have used in these articles a sufficient proof (were there no other) of the charitable latitude *they* intended? For, if *they* be capable of *any* sense, are they not of *several*? You own, the modern technical christianity consists of *uncertain*

tain speculations, which not one in ten thousand can understand ; and this, sure, through the variety of senses which the words are capable of.—Now, has bishop *Burnet* himself said more ? And, as his book has had the approbation of the archbishop, and several of the most learned and eminent bishops then in being, may not you and the bishop be thought to speak herein the sense of the present *English* clergy ? And will not this sufficiently acquit them of insincerity ? For, they will say, here are certain forms imposed by the laws to be subscribed by us of the clergy, *some* of which are *confessedly* left at large ; and, as we have no criterion (and as the *legislature itself* cannot, without a new declaratory law, determine) *which they are*, we suppose ourselves impowered to take the same uniform liberty in all propositions grammatically capable of it ; and that every sense which these forms will thus admit of become (by the imposer's own act in leaving this latitude) the imposer's own sense. They will urge, that if you strain words to a bad sense, which are capable of a good one, or don't interpret the dark by the clear, what church or churchman may abide it ? They will tell you, that the church's declarations concerning the necessity of believing the doctrines of the creeds (in gross, not with the explications, as they are called) only because (and therefore only as) they are contained in scripture ; — and that the church's
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declarations in articles the 6th, 20th, and 21st, together with the promise which every priest makes at his ordination, to teach no doctrine but scripture-doctrine; and the remarkable moderation of our church and clergy; and the extraordinary encouragement given to free inquiry in the persons of our most eminent authors for this last century, even when differing from the vulgar interpretation of these forms: That all these things, I say, put together, ought to weigh more, in shewing the church's sense, and *what subscription obliges men* to, than ten thousand scattered words of an ambiguous nature. Nor will you, surely, blame subscribers for taking liberties, which they have, by royal declaration, been applauded for taking.

BUT, say you, the preaching of the clergy is a contradiction to their subscription; and therefore a public avowal of their insincerity.—Nay, but the very reverse; and the wish'd-for method of letting their *sincerity*, as well as *moderation*, be known unto all men: insomuch, that while a man seems to level, in preaching or writing, against any doctrine of the articles, all his candid hearers and readers are in duty bound to understand him, *only* as declaring his own sense in subscribing those articles. Accordingly our most eminent divines have thought some public declarations of this kind the *proper*
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vindication of their honesty. * One thinks, that if the *Nicene* fathers had not inserted the new determinations in their creed, the church would never have repented it. Another † (to shew his sincerity) wishes we were well rid of the *Athanasian* creed: as with the same view did the convention of bishops, &c. in 1669, unanimously agree, that the use of it should no longer be imposed. Thus bishop *Burnet* also thinks fit to own (*Pref.* p. 6.) that in the point of predestination, he follows the *Greek* church, from which St. *Austin* [*Calvin* and the compilers] departed and form'd a new scheme. Thus Dr. *Whitby*, ‡ after a calm and deliberate examination, being convinced, that the confused notion of the Trinity, which he had in his commentary too hastily endeavour'd to establish, was a thing impossible, and full of gross absurdities and contradictions; and being no longer able to resist the shining evidence of truth, was not ashamed to make a public retraction of his errors; which he hopes will not (in his case) be imputed to any motive but the love of truth. Even Dr. *Waterland* thinks †† some articles leave a latitude, and that in the interpretation of them, room is always left for such tacit exceptions, as either other scriptures, or the reason of the thing shews ought

* Dr. *Taylor*. † *Tillotson*. ‡ *Preface to last Thoughts*.

†† *Arian subscriptions and sermons*.

to be made. And to name no more, Dr. *Clarke* * thinks the sincerity of a christian obliges him to declare, and he desires *it may be observed*, that he assents to the use of the forms *so* and *so*, &c. *Observed* accordingly it was ; and a prosecution commenced against him, for attacking, not the doctrine of scripture, but of our Liturgy. Yet to shew their sincerity, the upper house presently declared themselves *satisfied* ; and the lower house have sufficiently discovered *their satisfaction*, by never answering his book to this day. And thus, Sir, it is but a charitable thought to suppose, that the οἱ πολλοί in the dark take *all just and reasonable means*, either by conversation, or preaching doctrines (either of their own, or adopted) to discover the sense in which they subscribe, according to the liberty with which the church has made them free. And what would you have men do more to shew their sincerity ? Or, what men have such opportunities of shewing their sincerity as the clergy ? Why then do you impute the want of it to them ? With no better reason, I suppose, than you intimate that these forms make Christ and christianity a *Proteus* ; when, you know, it is not Christ (who is the same yesterday, to day, and for ever) but the *person* (now a mode, now an intelligence, and now we know not what) that is the mystery, and the *Proteus*. Again, it is not christianity (whose

* *Pres. to scripture-doctrine.*

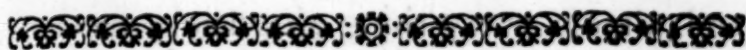
yea is yea) but *the substance only*, that is the *Proteus*; now numerically, now specifically the same, and not the same; begot from another substance, and yet the very individual substance that begets; and so of several other terms: In all which, what precise ideas the compilers had in view is hard to know, (if it were material) and therefore the only question between you and the *English* clergy seems to be, whether there be not *a* proper and literal sense, in which all these terms are reconcilable with *that rule*, to which the imposers refer the subscribers as the *only* rule of their faith? Because, if *there be*, you have gone too far in asserting, that they do not believe the articles they subscribe in *any proper and literal sense*, but subscribe with dishonourable reserves; and, *if there be no such sense*, I must own, I think it a great pity but there were.

AND having gone thus far, I shall now leave you in possession of the other truth, you may have advanced on these subjects; observing only, before I conclude (with Mr. *W.*) that there is a prejudice which is one of the greatest causes of modern irreligion; while *some opinions*, says he, and rites are carried to such an immoderate height, as exposes the absurdity of them to the view of almost every body, but them who raise them; not only gentlemen of the *Belles Lettres*, but even men of common sense, see through them; and then out of indignation

nation and an excessive renitence, not separating what is true from what is false, they come to deny both.—And wishing, that upon this, and many other accounts, we of this church and nation may all at length unite in laying aside all excessive zeal for, and excessive renitence against opinions, and sincerely endeavour after a more perfect state of virtue.

Yours, &c.

V. T.



N U M B. C.

NOtwithstanding the many complaints which have been made of the uncertain use of words, the fashion seems rather to gain ground, than to decline. There is scarce a word in our language, which has not acquired two or three significations which modern writers use promiscuously as their necessities require.

THE word *church* has of all others varied its sense most frequently, and with the best success. Its first signification amongst christians was the congregation of the faithful; and under that denomination it *throve* so well, that it gave occasion to a heathen writer to say, that if a man would hastily grow rich, he ought to turn christian.

IT next came to be applied to places where the assemblies of christians met; and
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to this sacred term they greatly owed their beauty and magnificence, the veneration, and even adoration, which is in some places paid them to this day. 'Tis in this sense spoke of with great respect by our learned countryman Sir *Henry Spelman*, whose veneration for material churches is greatly commended by the reverend publisher of his life; and 'tis in this sense, as he most justly observes, *Lippis & tonsoribus notum, the favourite of the mob.*

IN later times its use grew most extensive, and almost every thing alternately has had the honour to be called the *church*. In the civil wars it signified a *may-pole*, a *bull-baiting*, and sometimes *custard* and *plumb porridge*: And we remember it to have meant a *treaty of peace*, a *doctor of divinity*, a *hogshhead of October*.

IT still more lately has been used to signify a part of our constitution called an *establishment* with a *toleration*; or in other words the *Test Act*: And this sense, from the authority which coined it, might have been universally received, had not a critical juncture of affairs changed it to denominate the *country parson's plea against the Quakers bill for tythes*.

THESE, and many other various significations, which this term occasionally receives, make me think it incumbent on an author, who has occasion to make use of it, to let us know the sense he fixes to it. I
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therefore would have the courteous reader apprehend, that wherever he finds it in this paper joined with the words *power*, or *riches*, *authority*, or others of like import, it is intended as synonymous to the reverend clergy, or some reverend clerk or clerks; as being the name by which they choose to call themselves; and it is a term so properly adapted to this, as that it is almost impossible to find another which will supply its place.

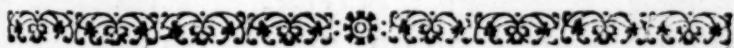
I could produce innumerable instances wherein this term so used has done knights service, has given an argument a dignity and weight, where any other must have betrayed the cause: But as one will serve to explain this fact, I will produce the following one only from the book already mentioned, *Sir Henry Spelman's* life, wherein the right reverend author has the following passage: "*Scarce two miles from Arksey (in the West-Riding of Yorkshire) lies Adwick in the street, memorable on this account, that Mrs. Anne Savill (a virgin benefactor yet living) daughter of John Savill, of Medley, Esq; purchased the rectory thereof; for which she gave about 900 l. and has settled it in the hands of trustees for ever;*" and this from a generous and pious principle upon the reading of *Sir Henry Spelman's* noted treatise, *De non Temerandis Ecclesiis.*

Now, if the right reverend author here, instead of the *church*, had named the vicar of *Adwick*, this period had intirely lost its energy, and almost sunk into burlesque.

OUR readers will not think it loss of time to find an explanation of this common term, when they observe this use of it (as trite as now it is) is never to be found in scripture, or any father of antiquity: even good Sir *Henry Spelman* in his glossary has waved it as one not to be justified. Yet in this sense only is it used in every contest for church authority, or riches. 'Tis in this sense call'd *holy*, our *mother*, and our *guide*; in this sense are the rights of the church so strenuously defended; and in this sense is it that we are required to believe in the holy catholic church; and the perfect understanding of this sense will be a key to guide the reader, thro' every church controversy, from *Constantine's* down to the present time. I wish I could, for my reader's information, fix the point of time when this sense first became received: But, I guess, it first begun about the time when bishops first were made without the authority of the people; who then soon (as father *Paul* tells us) found it easy to exclude them from the choice of priests, deacons, and other ecclesiastical ministers, and to transfer that right to the prince alone: some part of the people having wholly withdrawn themselves from ecclesiastical congregations to attend their domestic affairs, o-
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thers to avoid popular factions, others again, upon finding themselves contemptuously treated by the bishop, whose power was grown to an inconvenient size by his wealth, and the interest he had in his prince, of whom he held his bishopric by nomination or confirmation.

THE ecclesiastical assembly thus being freed from the laity, the clergy then, as I suppose, became to be thought the church; and then the interest of the church was taken care of; for then, as we are told, that saying first arose, that (except it be in places confining on the infidels) a good lawyer makes a better bishop than a good divine. I hope this attempt, to procure this sense to be universally received, will greatly tend to the service of the clergy, and lead them to act wisely for the true interest of that church which church they are.



N U M B. C I.

To the Author of the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

IN some of your late papers you have very justly condemned the conduct of some of our *clergy*, in *subscribing articles* of religion which they do *not believe*. And are

not some among the *laity* equally guilty of gross *prevarication*, who *stand up* at church as assenting to *creeds* which they themselves profess in private conversation they do not *understand*, and therefore 'tis plain cannot *believe*; and joyn in *prayers* and *doxologies* which they themselves declare are *unscriptural*, and therefore they think ought not to be offered? Such men can't be thought to act from religious principles, but must, like their leaders, be influenced by worldly views.

WHAT then is the *end* proposed by this insincere practice? Is it not to be thought (what in truth they are far from being) good *churchmen*; to conform in appearance to the established religion of their country, and so to be in the prevailing fashion of the place where they happen to live, that they may not be branded with the odious names of *fanatic*, *schismatic*, *heretic*, and the like? Do not many conform, merely because they think this is the most likely way to advance their trade and worldly interest? And are not others ashamed to be thought to belong to the *minority*, who therefore generally are the *despised* party? — But if *all* who have true *principles*, and who therefore ought to dissent from established errors, would declare themselves publicly; they would no longer be a small despicable party, but be able to make a noble stand for liberty. There are some who now conform to the church of

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England, and yet greatly *dislike* its liturgy, who declare they attend its service (as some of the clergy subscribe the articles) for *peace* sake, and tell us, that when those parts of the service which they dislike are repeated in the church, they *with-hold* their assent: But after this way of acting, any man in a *Popish* country may constantly attend at *Mass*, and be thought by all that observe him a zealous *Catholic*, and yet be in his heart a rank *Protestant*; only with-holding his assent to those parts of the service in which he can't joyn with a good conscience, and joining in other parts of the same service which his mind approves. But as every christian ought in reason to unite himself to that society which *he judges* to be the least corrupted, and where God may be served in a method the most *agreeable* to his will, and which *he* thinks will most conduce to his own and others *edification*, it can't be a thing indifferent with what society we communicate in religious offices.

THE *natural right* of *private* judgment in matters of religion is, I presume, at this day among protestants, past dispute: And through the goodness of *divine providence*, and the kind permission of our *governors*, every protestant now in *England* enjoys the happy liberty of professing publicly his own religious principles. 'Tis therefore the more amazing, that any men should at this time of *light* and *liberty* disguise or conceal their

real sentiments in matters of religion. If *fines* and *imprisonment*, or the *danger* of either, were to be the consequences of declaring for, or practising a different form of worship from what is established, there would be a considerable temptation to shew an outward conformity to that which the man does not at the same time inwardly approve: But in our present happy circumstances, that man is altogether inexcusable who baulks his own sentiments (when he may with safety publicly enjoy them) only upon the account of some few negative discouragements. The men whose practices I am opposing are too much like honest *John Bunyan's worldly-wise-man*, who dwelt in the town of *carnal policy*, and if hearken'd to, would turn christians out of the right way, by persuading them to follow their example. And some of these will tell us that it is no matter what society we join with in public worship; for that *morality* alone is sufficient to salvation, without any regard to the institutions of Christ.

OTHERS run yet a greater length, and publicly declare, that every man ought to comply with the *established* religion of his country, and to profess himself a *christian* in a country where the christian religion is established by law; but a *Mahometan*, if he lives in *Turkey*; and a *Pagan* in *China*: And that he ought to profess that particular set of opinions which happens to be established

blished as the religion of the state where he resides, and to vary his notions as often, it may be, as he changes his place of residence. In conformity to this wild notion, a man must be a *Protestant* in *England*, and a *Papist* in *France*; an *Episcopalian* in *London*, and a *Presbyterian* at *Edinburgh*. But such a man is of no religion at all: for no man can take such a license without commencing downright *Atheist*; because such a practice tacitly implies, that there is *no difference* between *right* and *wrong*; and if so, then there are no *moral* perfections in the deity, *i. e.* there is *no God*. I am persuaded, that those who contend for such a license in practice, do not always think of this fatal consequence: But I presume every rational considerate person must see it to be unavoidable.

ONE of the *worldly politicians* I am opposing will secretly behind the curtain whisper to a *zealous* divine, forward to promote what he takes to be truth, and a person of true honour and conscience, ‘ You are very
‘ impolitic, Sir: For tho’ you must be al-
‘ lowed to be in the right in speculation,
‘ and the truths you would contend for, tho’
‘ contrary to the commonly-received opini-
‘ ons, are evident to considerate minds, and
‘ past dispute with men of sense and judg-
‘ ment; and it were to be wished, that all
‘ mankind saw and conformed to the force
‘ of truth in matters of religion, and that

' no unscriptural or unreasonable proposition
 ' were entertained by christians as part of
 ' their creed; yet for *peace* sake you should
 ' keep your uncommon notions to your self;
 ' and consider that the bulk of mankind are
 ' not used to matters of speculation, nor
 ' proper judges of any thing out of the or-
 ' dinary way of thinking. Why then should
 ' you disturb their minds? You will not
 ' easily bring the generality to entertain such
 ' truths as contradict their first received no-
 ' tions in divinity, of which they are com-
 ' monly as tenacious, as tho' their salvation
 ' depended on them. Besides, you are like
 ' to bring your self under trouble by ad-
 ' vancing unpopular, unfashionable notions;
 ' and you must expect to bear the derision
 ' of multitudes, and 'tis well if they don't
 ' load you with yet greater persecution.—
 ' I am sure, Sir, your way of thinking is
 ' far from being the way to preferment.

B U T surely this carnal reasoning can ne-
 ver justify a person whose proper *business*
 it is to *instruct* others, in *concealing* from
 them any important principles relating to
religion. *Truth* is too sacred a thing to be
 trifled with: And thanks be to God, *igno-*
rance is not *professedly*, among *Protestants*,
 the mother of devotion, nor are we required
 to erect an altar to *an unknown deity*.

T H E above manner of reasoning might
 have been used to our Saviour when he was
 preaching to the world against the establish-
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ed religion ; and if followed, it must have stop'd all his disciples to this day, from attempting to correct the errors of mankind, and particularly at the time of *England's* reformation from *Popery*. And bishop *Burnet*, in his *History of the Reformation*, tells us, (*p.* 174, 175, of the abridgment) that ' *the Popish party*, at that time, were apprehensive of the precedent of bringing matters of *religion* under debate, which would bring on other *alterations* ;' and that they answered those, who would have *all errors* in worship laid aside, with this, ' that *the clergy* were to be drawn by *slow* and easy steps out of their *ignorance* and *superstition* ; whereas the driving on things with precipitated haste might spoil the whole design, and alienate those who by slower methods might be gained ; and it might also much endanger the *peace* of the nation.'

'Tis likely that some of the *worldly wise* men at that time did apply to the reformers after this manner : ' Gentlemen, what are you doing ? You don't consider the consequences that will unavoidably follow the publishing your *new notions* in divinity. You needlessly perplex mens minds, by unsettling their faith. The less the vulgar know of religious matters, the better ; 'tis enough if they conform to the church, and follow their spiritual guides. What if they are superstitious in their devotions,

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‘ and use a great many uncommanded ceremonies of men’s invention, you’ll allow they are right in the main; why then should you break in upon their peace, by persuading them that many things ought to be altered, and that they hold many false doctrines which they ought to renounce? Your endeavouring a reformation is like to do great mischief, and to blow the nation into a flame; in which ’tis well if you your selves escape being consumed. If you see farther than the generality do, pray keep your thoughts to your selves, and don’t by publishing them to the world create a vast noise and confusion, and by raising doubts in men’s minds against the commonly-received opinions disturb *the public peace.*’ If such advice had been followed, we had still been under the thick darkness of *Popery*, and slaves to the see of *Rome!*

BUT, thanks be to God, a *considerable reformation* was obtained. And when one considers, that many of the first reformers lost all that is valuable in this world, and even life itself, for the sake of what they did, ’tis surprising that they had not carried the reformation farther, and drop’d all human ordinances in public worship.

THE church of *England* indeed, once a year to this day, requires the priest that officiates on the first day of *Lent*, to say to the people, that *it is much to be wish’d* that the

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the *primitive discipline* were again *restored*. And why this godly discipline is not again restored must be surprising to all that consider how long it hath been wished for, and that the wish is *every year renewed*: And yet nothing is further done in order to obtain it!

I went lately into a church (when it was not the time for divine service) merely out of curiosity to see the building, and observed on the altar-piece *four painted pillars*, so placed as if they supported the whole frame; at the bottom of the pillars were written these words, *truth, peace, piety, loyalty*. These are indeed the things that must support the *true christian church*, and when they *go together* we may say, the church is in its *flourishing* state. But we are not at any time to sacrifice *truth* and *piety* for the sake of maintaining the other two, upon dishonourable terms. I am,

S I R,

Your constant Reader,

and great Admirer,

A. R.

NUMB.



N U M B. CII.

———*Trebat,*
Quid faciam, præscribe. Quiescas.

H O R.

WHILE an *Englishman* is boasting of his country, of liberty secured to him by the best laws, of being governed by the best of kings, and by the wisest administration; a *Frenchman* tells us, that his country is increasing daily, by improvements at home, acquisitions of territories, trade, and foreign alliances, and giving laws to half the world; the *Spaniard* tells us, he is founding new empires, making the extended ocean a part of his territories; even our neighbours of *Ireland* let us hear of daily improvements both in their laws and their estates. An *Old Whig* will not envy the grandeur of *France*; nor will the power of *Spain* strike him with a panic; much less will he be jealous of the virtues of his *Hibernian* neighbours: but he will consider what part he is to act to strengthen and secure this boasted liberty, this valuable constitution! Shall the spirits of a *Sidney*, a *Milton*, or an *Harrington*, be found loitering amidst coffeehouse politicians, foaming at the captures of our merchants, and the insolence of our enemies?

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Or, will they better adorn a levee, and bow the knee for a mess of pottage? Did the great *Hampden* loll away his hours at his toilette, at the opera, or at midnight revels; and justify himself, by throwing the blame on his neighbours inactivity, and his own despair of doing any good? Yet they lived in times as debauched as our own; and had not, as we have, a king chosen for his attachment to the *protestant* interest, and the interest of *liberty*, and a ministry established in power for their *Whig* principles; but, on the contrary, had seen for forty years a state of abject slavery; had seen a *Gondemar* alternately bullying and tricking the majesty of the *British* empire; and not only defended herein by the scoundrel writers of the times, but by the councils of the ministers; and the blood of the most worthy of our countrymen sacrificed to the resentment and interest of the *Spaniard*: They saw the *Palatinate* and the *Protestant* interest abroad betray'd. They were happy indeed in seeing the *canons* established and in high veneration; but the *common law* was not only burlesqued by the wits of the age as an entertainment for the court (for which purpose they wrote the play call'd *Ignoramus*) but shamefully prostituted or superseded on all occasions; adultery attended with murder openly protected in the affair of *Somerset* and the countess of *Essex*; new and oppressive courts of judicature were established, and their authorities

rities extended beyond all bounds. The *Consistent Protestants* had long murmured; the *Papists* rejoiced; the friends of our constitution had been branded with the names of republicans; our brethren, the presbyterians, had been particularly disgraced, and proper instructions given in what manner they should be dealt with; the power of the famous *archbishop of Canterbury* was in its meridian glory; even parliaments were no longer permitted to defend our liberties: Yet amongst these, and innumerable more concurrent circumstances, *Hampden* did not content himself with wishing well to his fellow-subjects, and diverting his melancholy for his country's dishonour with every effeminate foppery in fashion; but he arose a deliverer: and shall we, who are so far from having any thing to struggle with from the interposition of the great; that, on the contrary, have a king, a ministry, a parliament, whose interest, whose safety, as well as inclinations, call on them to exert themselves against every invasion of liberty, whether foreign or domestic; shall we, secure of such protection, be supine in the defence of our natural rights? Shall we be ready to say, or shall we bear being told, THIS IS NOT A PROPER TIME? Is there a point of time in all eternity when liberty becomes not worth our care? Shall we be lulled into a stupid state of quietism, by an expectation of some more favourable conjunction of the planets, or some supernatural

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al interposition ? When the Majesty of the crown, the dignity of the people, the welfare of the ministers, and the honour of our representatives, call loudly on us, by loyal addressees, to testify our zeal to serve his Majesty ; by dutiful petitions to lay before them every danger that may threaten our liberty or property even in their remotest branches ? Nay, my brethen, rather let us *use* this favourable this valuable NOW, to deliver our constitution from every foreign or domestic insult, and heap confusion on its enemies ; and secure it to our childrens children by such LAWS as may give equal liberty and protection to all its friends, however differing from us in trifling opinions, or in uselefs ceremonies.



N U M B. CIII.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

YOU must needs have observed the violent affectation or zeal of all sorts of people, especially in religious matters, of *being in the right* ; insomuch, that it is generally preferred, in common life, and in all spiritual valuation, to *good sense* and *integrity* of heart. Thus self-conceit is superior to all real knowledge ; and orthodoxy
better

better than honesty: and a man will tamely suffer himself to be thought *idle* or *unjust*, who will fire at the reflection of a *fool* or a *liar*; as in ecclesiastical account, an immoral conversation is far more pardonable, and less offensive, than *erroneous principles*, or an *unsound faith*; and what is yet most remarkable, *right opinion*, or as it is called, being of the *true religion*, is thought a better security of the favour of God, and a future happiness, than an humble careful *inquiry* after truth, and a *good life*.

THE use that I would make of this observation is, that however vain and presumptuous men may be in their affectations and prejudices, *truth* is naturally the aim of all rational minds; the regard and reverence of which is so strongly rooted in mankind, that whatever errors or vices they run into, *truth* is always the only justifying pretence.

WHAT then is *truth*? What is the nature and value of it? Many have asked this question, without staying for an answer, or inquiring into the dictates of their own hearts and consciences about it. I'll beg leave to give you my short account of it, after my own way of thinking, for the amusement of some of your readers.

CONCERNING *necessary* and *natural* truth, there are few differences; mankind being generally agreed about all *mathematical* and even *metaphysical* truths, so far as their ideas are intelligible, as well as about *natural*

natural causes and effects, as they are call'd, so far as their experience reaches. It is only about *moral* truths, that doubtings and disputes arise; and these are caused by various passions, inclinations and prejudices, that are not interested in *other* truths. All men desire to be justified to one another, and in some measure to themselves; which can only be either by conforming their actions to *moral* truth, or by pretending to have such notions of *moral* truth as will agree with their course of action.

HENCE it is that though the mind does naturally assent to all truth upon all subjects, the opinions of men do nevertheless so often seem to differ on the most important truths relating to right conduct: And here, by the way, we may observe an universal agreement in one principle, that actions conformable to the *real* opinions or conscience of the mind, are *right*, and the contrary, *wrong*; whatever pretended or real differences there may in these opinions: So that there wants only true honesty and sincerity of heart to render all mens opinions relating to their conduct, *right*, as far as their knowledge and capacities go. So true is it, in the nature of things, as well as agreeable to the divine oracles, that *he who does the will of God*, or conforms to all moral truth in his actions, *shall*, and indeed must, *know of the commandment*, and of every obligation, *whether it be of God*, or a rule of right reason. If this were not true, the contrary might be

true, that an honest man, sincerely desirous of knowing and doing his duty, might nevertheless be ignorant of what reason requires, or what God expects from him; an absurdity even in terms, to imagine, that reason *requires* what reason does not *declare*, or that God *expects* what he knows to be *impossible*.

Moral truth then relates to the *actions* of moral agents: and is either that *rule of reason* to which all the actions of rational beings *ought* to conform; or perhaps may be taken to be *that conformity* itself. The result is the same. This seems to be a notion very plain and intelligible. However, I will not trouble you with any farther distinctions or explanations. Only let me observe, that it is a conformity to this *moral truth*, that is every where enforced and recommended by all true revelation; and the appeal is always made to every man's conscience. *If thou dost well, shalt thou not be accepted?* The christian rule is, to *prefer* and *walk after the law of the mind*; to *do truth*, in opposition to doing evil; to *obey the truth*; and to *rejoice in the truth*; and it is well worth notice, that Jesus Christ himself has told us, that *he was born and came into the world, to this end*, not so much that he might teach us *new truths*, as *that he should bear witness to the truth*, already manifest in the reason of things, and in every man's conscience. In this consisted *his kingdom*, under God, the universal and supreme moral governor, whose *law is truth*.

Now

Now if these notions are just, there is certainly no merit in being in the *right*, any farther than it is the effect of care and faithfulness in the love of truth and in the practice of virtue: and if these can be supposed to attend any *errors*, *such* errors, so fallen into, are better than being in the right, without that care and faithfulness. Much less can the favour of a perfectly wise and good moral governor be imagin'd to follow an opinion barely in itself right, without those moral qualifications.

HERE also is no room or pretence left for persecution of any sort. Indeed terrors and allurements, rewards and punishments, cannot in their own natures be any means of persuasion. But if they were; since *right opinion* alone is nothing; and since conformity of actions only to moral truth is virtue; which persecution cannot possibly effect; all such persecution is at least vain, or rather cruel and unreasonable; nay, it would be easy to shew, that it must therefore be greatly injurious to virtue: for it can only be a temptation to an honest man to overlook the true reason of assent, which is evidence alone; and to a wicked man, to profess any opinion without inquiry, or against his conviction, that may secure him from evil, or be attended with any profit.

THE pretensions of the church of *Rome* are very consistently laid in *infallibility*, and the necessity of a *right faith*, or being of the *true church*: they naturally hang toge-

ther, and must fall together. *Infallibility* would be of no use, if *right opinion* were not necessary; and the necessity of *being in the right* would be but a *desperate condemnation*, if recourse could not be had to *infallibility*. But alas! for *such true churches* and *such orthodox sinners*! whose *foundations* and *hopes* will as surely fail them as *man* is *fallible*, and as *God* is *just* and *good*.

IT is very plain, at first sight, that nothing but *evidence* can possibly maintain and advance *truth* of any sort. Motives to profess it, or to deceive our selves about, there may be many: or to speak in the stile of business, there may be much profit, or loss attending profess'd principles and persuasions: but no serious man will say that these can ever give or take away the proof of any *truth* whatsoever.

AGAIN, it is also most evident that freedom of inquiry and impartial consideration, unaffected by hopes or fears, are the natural means to all such evidences as are fit and proper to demonstrate *truth*. The pleasures or pains that attend any professions or practices may very probably blind or corrupt the judgment, and take off the mind from the pursuit of truth; but can never help us to any evidence, or ingage our attention to any *truths*, as *such*. These can only be discovered by a dispassionate care, and a faithful application of our rational capacities; under a steadfast persuasion that *truth* is excellent and valuable in itself, and will
certainly

certainly conduct its votaries at last to all the happiness of their natures, however dark and troublesome the present circumstances of adhering to it may appear.

THESE principles, plain and obvious as they are, have unavoidable consequences, far from being always allow'd, or however observed; of great use in regulating our zeal and application in the advancement of *truth*. Thus, zeal for any particular parties or opinions cannot promote truth: no, though the parties may be *useful*, and the opinions *true*. It is a very different thing to have a concern for *truth*, and for any *principle* whatever. He that wishes the advancement of *truth*, is not so much concerned *what* is *true*, as that *what is so* may prevail; and therefore labours only that *truth* may be discovered, and that the evidences of it may appear; and ever prefers it to any principles or opinions that he may have entertained. He would willingly exchange any or all his present persuasions for *truth*, and would think himself thereby a great gainer. Whereas, he who contends only for the prevalence of particular opinions, however *true* or *important*, seeks not *evidence*, nor considers the principles as *true*; but only strives to promote *them*. He rather fears inquiry and examination, lest they should appear doubtful or erroneous: and so that they do but succeed, or are propagated, he cares not whether they are well understood, or really believed. This consideration, I fear, will de-

stroy the *merit*, if not expose the *vice* of much *religious zeal*.

AGAIN, integrity, constancy, resolution and faithfulness even unto death, in the profession of any principles, must receive its merit and praise only from the love of *truth* and *liberty*. If it be a zeal and fondness for any opinion not considered as *truth*, however excellent and useful; it is rather obstinacy, or perhaps an ill-judg'd benevolence. Let a man try this reflection in his own breast. Where is the *virtue*, or indeed the *sense*, of sacrificing life or any other valuable interest, that certain opinions may prevail, whether they appear *true* or *not*? An honest man, that is a faithful lover of truth, will not indeed part with his principles, or deny his persuasion for any reward, or thro' the fear of any suffering, even of death itself. But then, his zeal and concern, is not that *his* principles may prevail, whether true or false; but that *he* may maintain *his* integrity, and bear a testimony to the cause of *truth* and *liberty*: that he may assert by his behaviour in all extremities, the general obligations of truth, and the right of all moral agents to profess and practice what appears to them to be true and reasonable. Here then we may observe that all true courage and heroism, even when it proceeds to martyrdom itself, must be in defence of *truth* and *liberty*, and not of any particular opinions. This is rather *fondness* and *obstinacy*. It is well if this consideration does not spoil the
religion

religion of many *professors*, and the *honour* of some *martyrs*.

I shall only farther observe this *general* consequence of these principles. That full freedom of inquiry and undisturbed profession of what men believe, must ever promote the interest of truth; as on the contrary, whatever prevents or discourages a search after truth, or tends to hurt men in an honest and conscientious practice of their persuasions, must of necessity, so far, stop the progress and advancement of truth, and tempt men to insincerity and vice. This is plain in the very nature of things.

I will not pretend to say how consistent such a liberty might be made with the flourishing condition of a *religious establishment*, or the peace and order of *some* civil governments. One wou'd think, indeed, by the practice of all ages, that a toleration of *truth* and *liberty* was look'd upon, as of all public evils, the most intolerable; since all ecclesiastical and civil societies have more or less restrain'd or prohibited them. But since *truth* and *liberty* are really in themselves the most invaluable blessings that can be enjoy'd by rational minds; and since they are the only privileges that can justly be contended for among men, there must be some latent mistake in this procedure. It cannot be the interest of the people, or of the society in general, that truth and liberty shou'd be obstructed. It must be some partial interest of *bigotry* and *tyranny*, some

unreasonable dominion over the consciences and properties of men, that must be intended by all *persecution* and *oppression*. I am persuaded, that if once the experiment was made (which by the way has never yet been try'd) of giving a fair toleration to truth and liberty; altho' many evils and errors will ever attend all imperfect states and conditions, nevertheless upon the whole, true religion and virtue wou'd greatly prevail, and the order, peace and happiness of society wou'd be more effectually established. This is just as likely to be the event, as truth has a better chance to be received than falshood upon a fair inquiry, and an impartial undisturbed judgment; and as government is most likely to stand secure and unshaken, whilst it most firmly and universally provides for, and maintains the rights and liberties, that is, the social happiness of mankind.

Persecution and *tyranny* are very nearly allied, and generally go hand in hand together: they are founded on the same absurd principles, and the like false pretences; and they are equally destructive of the true ends of religion and government; which ought surely to be the *assistance* and *support* of *virtue*, and the *happiness* of *society*.

I am,

S I R,

Your humble Servant,

PHILAEETHES.

March 13,

1737-8,

I N D E X.

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